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BRITISH PLUTARCH,
CONTAINING
THE L I V E S
OF THE

Most Eminent STATESMEN, PATRIOTS, DIVINES, WARRIORS, PHILOSOPHERS, POETS, and ARTISTS, of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, from the Accession of HENRY VIII. to the present Time. Including a Complete History of ENGLAND from that Era.

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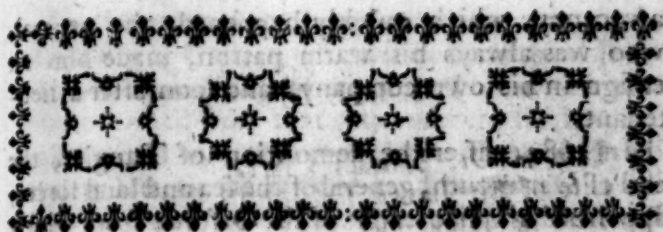
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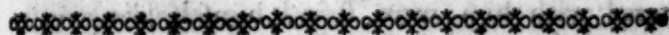
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THE
BRITISH PLUTARCH.



The LIFE of
GEORGE BYNG,
Lord Viscount TORRINGTON.

[A. D. 1663, to 1733.]

EORGE BYNG, a renowned naval officer, was descended from an ancient family in the county of Kent. He was born in the year 1663, and, at the age of fifteen, went to sea a volunteer in the royal navy, in the service of Charles II. having had the king's warrant given to him, on the recommendation of the duke of York.

In 1681, upon the invitation of general Kirk, governor of Tangier, he quitted the sea, and served as a cadet in the grenadiers of that garrison, till on

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a vacancy, which quickly happened, the general, who was always his warm patron, made him an ensign in his own company, and soon after a lieutenant.

In 1684, after the demolition of Tangier, the earl of Dartmouth, general of the sea and land forces, appointed him lieutenant of the Orford; from which time he kept constantly to the sea-service; but did not throw up his commission as a land officer for several years after.

In the year 1685, he went lieutenant of his majesty's (James II.) ship Phoenix to the East Indies; where engaging and boarding a Ziganian pirate, who maintained a desperate fight, most of those who entered with him were slain, himself dangerously wounded, and the prize sinking, he was taken up with scarce any remains of life.

In the year 1688, being first lieutenant to Sir John Ashby, in the fleet commanded by the earl of Dartmouth, and fitted out to oppose the designs of the prince of Orange, he was in a particular manner entrusted and employed in the intrigues then carrying on among the most considerable officers of the fleet, in favour of that prince; and was the person commissioned by them to carry their secret assurances of obedience to his highness; to whom he was privately introduced at Sherbourn, by admiral Russel. At his return to the fleet, the earl of Dartmouth sent him, with captain Aylmer and captain Hastings, to carry a message of submission to the prince at Windsor, who made him captain of the Constant Warwick, a fourth rate man of war.

In 1690, he commanded the Hope, a third rate; and was second to Sir George Rooke, in the engagement off Beachy-head.

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In the years 1691, and 1692, he was captain of the Royal Oak, and served under admiral Ruffel; commander in chief of the fleet. Nor were his merits concealed from that great officer, for he distinguished him in a very remarkable manner, by promoting him to the rank of his first captain.

In 1702, a war breaking out with France, he accepted the command of the Nassau; and was at the taking and burning the fleet at Vigo.

In the year 1703, he was made rear-admiral of the red by queen Anne; and served in the Mediterranean fleet, commanded by Sir Cloudesly Shovel, who detached him with a squadron of five men of war to Algiers, where he renewed the peace with that government. In his return home, he was in great danger of being lost in the great storm which overtook him in the channel.

In 1704, he served in the grand fleet sent into the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir Cloudesly Shovel, in search of the French fleet; and it was he who commanded the squadron that attacked and cannonaded Gibraltar; and, by landing the seamen, whose valour was on this occasion remarkably distinguished, the place capitulated the third day. He was in the battle off Malaga, which followed soon after; and, for his behaviour in that action, her majesty conferred on him the order of knighthood.

Towards the latter end of this year, the French having two strong squadrons in the Soundings, besides great numbers of privateers, which greatly annoyed our trade, Sir George Byng sailed the latter end of January 1705, from Plymouth, with a squadron of twelve men of war, and a large fleet of merchantmen; and, after seeing the latter safely out of the channel, he divided his squadron to such advantage, that he took twelve of their largest pri-

vateers, in about two months, together with the *Thetis*, a French man of war of forty guns, and seven merchant ships, most of them richly laden from the West-Indies. This remarkable success gave such a blow to the French privateers, that they rarely ventured into the channel during the remainder of the year.

The same year, he was made vice-admiral of the blue; and, upon the election of a new parliament, was returned one of the burgesses for Plymouth; which place he constantly after represented in parliament, till he was created a peer.

In the beginning of the year 1707, Sir George was ordered with a squadron to Alicant, with necessaries for the army in Spain; and accordingly sailed on the 20th of March; but, on his arrival off Cape St. Vincent, he heard the melancholy news of the defeat of our army at the battle of Almanza, under the command of the earl of Galway, who sent to the admiral to acquaint him with the distress he was in; and desired, that whatever he had brought for the use of the army might be carried to Tortosa in Catalonia; to which place his lordship intended to retreat; and that, if possible, he would save the sick and wounded men at Denia, Gandia, and Valencia; where it was intended to embark every thing that could be got together.

This the admiral performed; and having sent the sick and wounded to Tortosa, and being soon after joined by Sir Cloudesly Shovel, from Lisbon, they proceeded together to the coast of Italy, with a fleet of forty-three men of war, and fifty transports, to second prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy, in the siege of Toulon; in which Sir George served in the second post under Sir Cloudesly, and narrowly escaped shipwreck in his return home, when that great officer was lost; for the *Royal Anne*, in which

Sir

Sir George carried his flag, was within a ship's length of the rocks on which Sir Cloudesly struck; yet was providentially saved by his own and his officers presence of mind, who, in a minute's time set the ship's topails, even when one of the rocks was under her main chains.

In the year 1708, he was made admiral of the blue, and commanded the squadron fitted out to oppose the invasion intended to be made in Scotland by the pretender, and a French army from Dunkirk. This squadron consisted of twenty-four men of war, with which Sir George, and lord Dursley, sailed from the Downs for the French coast, on the 27th of February; and, having anchored in Gravelin-pits, Sir George went on board a small frigate, and sailed within two miles of the Flemish road, and there learned the number and strength of the enemy's ships.

On the admiral's anchoring before Gravelin, the French laid aside their embarkation; but, upon express orders from their court, were obliged to resume it; and, on the 6th of March, actually sailed out of the port of Dunkirk; but, being taken short, by contrary winds, came to anchor on the 8th, and then continued their voyage.

Sir George had been obliged, at the time the French fleet sailed, to come to an anchor under Dungeness; and, in his return to Dunkirk, was informed that the French fleet was sailed, but whether could not be known; but he was persuaded their destination was for Scotland: whereupon it was resolved, in a council of war, to pursue the enemy to the road of Edinburgh; and, accordingly, having first detached rear admiral Barker, with a small squadron to convoy the troops to Ostend, the admiral prosecuted his expedition with the rest of the fleet.

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On the 13th of March, the French were discovered in the Firth of Edinburgh; where they made signals, but to no purpose, and then steered a north east course, as if they had intended to have gone to St. Andrews. Sir George pursued them, and took the Salisbury, an English prize, then in their service, with several persons of quality on board; many land and sea officers in the French service of very great distinction; five companies of the regiment of Bern, and all the ship's company, consisting of three hundred men.

After this, Sir George finding it impossible to come up with the enemy, put into the port of Leith, where he continued till advice was received of the French being returned to Dunkirk.

Before the admiral left Leith Road, the lord-provost and magistrates of Edinburgh, to shew their grateful sense of the important service he had done them, by thus drawing off the French before they had time to land their forces; and thereby preserving not only the city of Edinburgh, but even the whole kingdom, from the fatal effects of a rebellion and invasion, resolved to present him with the freedom of their city, by sending, in their name, Sir Patrick Johnson, their late representative in parliament, with an instrument called a burghess-ticket, inclosed in a gold box, having the arms of the city on the side, and these words engraven on the cover:

"The lord-provost, bailiffs, and town-council of Edinburgh did present these letters to burgeoise Sir George Byng, admiral of the blue, in gratitude to him for delivering this island from a foreign invasion, and defeating the designs of the French fleet at the mouth of the Firth of Edinburgh, the 13th of March, 1708."

One would have imagined, that this remarkable success must have satisfied every body; and that, after defeating so extraordinary a scheme as this

was then allowed to be, and restoring public credit, as it were, in an instant, there should be an universal tribute of applause paid to the admiral by all ranks and degrees of people: but so far was this from being the case, that Sir George Byng had scarce set his foot in London, when it was whispered, that the parliament would enquire into his conduct; which notion had its rise from a very foolish persuasion, that, having once had sight of the enemy's fleet, he might, if he pleased, have taken every ship of them, as well as the Salisbury.

The truth was, that the French, having amused the Jacobites in Scotland with a proposal of besieging Edinburgh-castle, Sir George Byng was particularly instructed, by all means, to prevent that undertaking, by hindering the French from landing in the neighbourhood. This he effectually did, and, by doing it, answered the purpose of his expedition.

But the same malicious people, who first propagated this story, invented also another; namely, that Sir George was also hindered from taking the French fleet by his ships being foul; which actually produced an enquiry in the house of commons; and an address to the queen, to direct, that an account might be laid before them of the number of ships that went on the expedition with Sir George Byng; and when the ships were cleaned: which at last, however, ended in this resolution:

“ That the thanks of the house be given to the prince, for his great care in so expeditiously setting forth so great a number of ships; whereby the fleet under Sir George Byng was enabled so happily to prevent the intended invasion.”

This was a very wise and well concerted measure, since it fully satisfied the world of the falsity of these reports, and at the same time gave great

satisfaction to the queen and her royal consort, the prince of Denmark, who both conceived that his royal highness's character was affected, as lord-high-admiral,

About the middle of the summer, a resolution was taken to make a descent on, or, at least to alarm the coast of France, by way of retaliation for the affront so lately offered us; and Sir George Byng, as admiral; and lord Dursley, as vice-admiral of the blue; were appointed to carry the scheme into execution.

Accordingly, Sir George sailed from Spithead on the 27th of July, with the fleet and transports, having the troops on board, intended for a descent, commanded by lieutenant-general Earle; and the next day came to an anchor off Deal. The 29th they stood over to the coast of Picardy, as well to alarm as to amuse the enemy, and at the same time to be ready for further orders. The 1st of August, the fleet sailed again, and anchored the next day in the bay of Boulogne, where they made a feint of landing their troops. On the 3d they stood in, pretty near the shore, to observe the condition of the enemy; and on the 4th they weighed again, but came to an anchor about noon in the bay of Estaples. Here a detachment of troops were landed; but the project on shore, which this descent was to have seconded, being laid aside, an express arrived from England; on which the troops were re-embarked.

In this manner they continued several days on the coast of France, creating the enemy inexpressible trouble; and indeed the true design of it was only to disturb the naval armaments on their coasts, and oblige the French court to march large bodies of men to protect their maritime towns; which necessarily occasioned a diminution of their army in Flanders.

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Lord TORRINGTON. 9

The same year, Sir George had the honour of conducting the queen of Portugal to Lisbon; where a commission was sent him, appointing him admiral of the white; and her Portuguese majesty presented him with her picture set with diamonds to a very great value.

In the year 1709, he was commander in chief of the fleet stationed in the Mediterranean; during which he attempted the relief of the city and castle of Alicant; and at the same time meditated a design upon Cadiz; nor was it his fault that both did not succeed; for he did every thing that could be expected from him, in order to render these important designs successful.

After his return from this expedition, in 1710, he was appointed one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral; in which post he continued till some time before the queen's death; when, not falling in with the measures of these times, he was removed; but, on the accession of George I. he was restored to that employment; and, in the year 1715, on the breaking out of the rebellion, appointed to command a squadron in the Downs; with which he kept such a watchful eye on the French coast, and seized such a great quantity of arms and ammunition shipped there for the pretender's service, that his majesty, to reward his services, created him a baronet, presented him with a ring of great value, and gave him other marks of his royal favour.

In the year 1717, he was sent with a squadron into the Baltic, on discovering that Charles XII. had formed a design of making a descent upon England.

We are now to enter upon the most remarkable scene of action our admiral was ever concerned in, and which he conducted with equal honour and
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reputation

reputation to himself and the British flag. This was the famous expedition of the British fleet to Sicily in the year 1718, for the protection of the neutrality of Italy, and the defence of the emperor's possessions, against the invasion of the Spaniards, who had the year before surprized Sardinia, and had this year landed an army in Sicily.

He sailed from Spithead about the middle of June 1718, with twenty ships of the line of battle, two fire-ships, two bomb-vessels, an hospital-ship, and a store-ship. This squadron arrived, on the 1st of August, in the bay of Naples, into which the fleet standing with a gentle gale, drawn up in a line of battle, most of them capital ships, and three of them carrying flags, afforded such a spectacle as had never been seen in those parts before. The whole city was in a tumult of joy and exultation; the shore was crowded with multitudes of spectators; and such an infinite number of boats came off, some with provisions and refreshments, others out of curiosity and admiration, that the bay was covered with them.

The viceroy, count Daun, being ill with the gout, and having sent his compliments to the admiral, he went on shore, attended by the flag-officers and captains in their boats; and was saluted at his landing by all the cannon round the city and castles; and was conducted to the court through an infinite throng of people, with the greatest acclamations of joy, and all the honours and ceremonies usually paid to a viceroy of that kingdom.

Here the admiral entered into a conference with count Daun; from whom he learned, that the Spanish army, consisting of 30000 men, commanded by the marquis de Lede, had landed on the 2d of July in Sicily, and had soon made themselves masters of the city and castles of Palermo,

and

and of great part of the island; that they had taken the town of Messina, and were carrying on the siege of the citadel, &c.

After the conference, the admiral was splendidly entertained at dinner, and then lodged at the palace of the duke de Matalona, which had been magnificently fitted up for his reception.

The next morning they had another conference, on the measures to be taken in that conjuncture of affairs; when it was agreed, that the viceroy should send 2000 German foot, in tertans, to Messina, to relieve the citadel and fort St. Salvador, under the protection of the English fleet; which accordingly sailed on the 6th of August from Naples, and arrived on the 9th in sight of the Faro of Messina.

Here the admiral, desirous of trying every method of negociation, before he proceeded to the extremity of his orders, dispatched his first captain to Messina, with a letter to the marquis de Lede, wherein, after acquainting him upon what account he was sent there, he proposed a cessation of arms for two months, that their respective courts might have time to conclude such resolutions as might restore a lasting peace; but added, that, if he was not so happy as to succeed in this offer of his service, he should then be obliged to use all his force, to prevent farther attempts to disturb the dominions his master stood engaged to defend.

The general returned for answer, that he had no powers to treat; and, consequently, could not agree to a suspension of arms, but must follow his orders, which directed him to seize upon Sicily for his master the king of Spain.

According to the best accounts the admiral could obtain, he was led to conceive, that the Spanish fleet was sailed from Malta, in order to avoid him; and therefore, upon receiving the marquis's answer,

he immediately weighed, with an intention to come with his Squadron before Messina, in order to encourage and support the garrison in the citadel: but, as he stood about the point of the Faro of Messina, he saw two Spanish scouts in the Faro; and being informed at the same time, by a felucca, which came from the Calabrian shore, that they saw from the hills, the Spanish fleet lying by; the admiral altered his design, and sending away the German troops to Reggio, under the convoy of two men of war, he stood through the Faro with his Squadron with all the sail he could, after their scouts, imagining they would lead him to the fleet; which accordingly they did; for, before noon, he had a fair view of the whole, lying-by, and drawn into a line of battle; the admiral soon after came up with them, and a general engagement ensued, in which the Spanish fleet was totally demolished: six of them endeavoured to escape, by standing in for the shore; but Sir George sent a detachment after them, under the command of the gallant captain George Walton, who took four of them, and burned most of the fire-ships, bomb-vessels, and ships laden with provisions and ammunition, which had retreated from the main fleet, under convoy of this Squadron.

Sir George, as soon as the whole fleet was joined, dispatched his eldest son to England; who arriving at Hampton-court in fifteen days, brought thither the agreeable confirmation of what public fame had before reported; namely, the entire defeat of the Spanish fleet; upon which the king had written a letter to the admiral, with his own hand; and he now sent him a valuable present, together with plenipotentiary powers to negotiate with the princes and states of the empire, as occasion should require.

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In the mean time, the admiral prosecuted his affairs with great diligence; procured the emperor's troops free access into the fortresses that were still held out in Sicily; brought their Sicilian gallies from Malta; and soon after received a letter from the emperor Charles VI. written with his own hand, accompanied with a picture of his imperial majesty, set round with large diamonds, as a mark of the services which had been rendered by his excellency to the house of Austria.

Early in the spring of 1719, the admiral returned to Naples, where he adjusted every thing with the viceroy and the German general for the reduction of Sicily; in which he acted with such zeal and success, that the Imperial army was transported into the island, and so well supplied with all necessaries from the fleet, that it may be truly said, the success of that expedition was as much owing to the English admiral as to the German general.

It was entirely owing to the admiral's advice, and to his assistance and supplies of cannon, powder, and ball, from his own ships, that the Germans retook the city of Messina, in the summer of the year 1719; after which the admiral landed a body of English grenadiers, who soon made themselves masters of the tower of Faro; by which, having opened a free passage for their ships, he came to an anchor in Paradise-road. This was a step of great consequence; for the officers of the Spanish men of war, which were in the mole, perceiving this, despairing of getting out to sea, unbent their sails, unrigged their ships, and resolved to wait their fate with that of the citadel. This gave the admiral great satisfaction, who now found himself at liberty to employ his ships in other service,

vice, which had for a long time been employed in blocking up that port.

But, while things were in this prosperous situation, a dispute arose among the allies about the disposition of the Spanish ships, when, after the citadel was taken, they should fall of course into their hands. This dispute was happily ended by the admiral's proposing to erect a battery, and destroy them, as they lay in the basin; which was done accordingly, and thereby the ruin of Spain completed.

The admiral, in order to succeed in the reduction of Sicily, and, at the same time, to procure artillery for carrying on the siege of the citadel of Messina, went over to Naples in August; and finding that the government was unable to furnish the military stores that were wanting, he generously granted the cannon out of the British prizes; and procured, upon his own credit, and at his own risque, powder and other ammunition from Genoa; and soon after went thither himself, in order to hasten the embarkation of the troops intended for Sicily.

Our admiral was received with great honour and respect at Genoa. At his arrival, the town saluted his flag with twenty-one guns, and his person with ten guns and twenty chambers; and the republic sent off six deputies, three of the old, and three of the new nobility, to compliment him upon his arrival.

After a stay of about three weeks, he sailed with all the transports to Sicily, and arrived before Messina on the 8th of October; which so elevated the spirits of the army, then besieging the citadel, that, upon the first sight of the fleet, they made a vigorous attack upon a half-moon, and carried it. The admiral, repairing ashore to the general's quarters,

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was embraced by him, and all the general officers, with the most tender marks of affection and congratulation, the whole army being overjoyed to see a man who brought them relief and success, and every advantage attending them.

In ten days after the admiral's arrival at Messina, the citadel surrendered to the Germans: after which, Sir George re embarked a great part of the army, and landed them upon another part of the island; by which means they distressed the enemy to such a degree, that the marquis de Lede, commander of the Spanish forces, proposed to evacuate the island; which the Germans were very desirous of agreeing to, and sent to Vienna for instructions: but the admiral protested against it, and declared, that the Spanish troops should never be permitted to quit Sicily and return home, till a general peace was concluded; and sent his eldest son to Vienna with instructions, if the Imperial court listened to the proposal of the Spanish general, to declare, that his father could never suffer any part of the Spanish army to depart out of the island, till the king of Spain had acceded to the quadruple alliance, or till he received positive instructions from England for that purpose. In this, Sir George certainly acted as became a British admiral; who, after having done so many services for the Imperialists, might surely insist on their doing what was just in respect to us, and holding the Spanish troops in the uneasy situation they now were, till they gave ample satisfaction to the court of London, as well as to that of Vienna.

After this, the Spanish general laid a snare to separate the admiral from the Germans, by proposing an agreement with him for a separate cessation of hostilities, but without effect. But soon after, when the Germans, with the assistance of the admiral, had begun the siege of Palermo, before which
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the Spaniards lay incamped; and just as the two armies were upon the point of engaging, a courier arrived in that lucky instant from Spain, with full powers for the Spanish general to treat and agree about the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia, in consequence of the king of Spain's acceding to the quadruple alliance: upon which, the two armies were drawn off; a suspension of arms agreed on; the Germans put into possession of Palermo; and the Spaniards embarked for Barcelona.

The admiral, after he had settled all affairs in Sicily, sailed in August, 1720, to Cagliari, in Sardinia; where he assisted at the conferences of the ministers and generals of the several powers concerned; wherein was regulated the manner of surrendering the island by the Spanish viceroy to the emperor, and the cession of the same to the duke of Savoy; and, at the instance of this prince, the admiral did not depart, till he had seen the whole fully executed; the Spanish troops landed in Spain; and the duke of Savoy put into quiet possession of his new kingdom of Sardinia, in exchange for Sicily, according to the quadruple alliance: in all which affairs the admiral arbitrated so equally between them, that even the king of Spain expressed his entire satisfaction at his conduct, to the British court: and his behaviour was so acceptable to the duke of Savoy, that his sincere acknowledgments to him were accompanied with his picture set in diamonds.

Thus ended the war of Sicily, wherein the British fleet bore so illustrious a part, that the fate of the island was wholly governed by its operations; both agreeing, that the one could not have conquered, nor the other have been subdued, without it. Never was any service conducted, in all its parts with greater zeal, activity, and judgment; nor
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was ever the British flag in so high reputation and respect in those distant parts of Europe.

His majesty, king George I. who had named the admiral for that expedition, used to say to his ministers, when they applied for instructions to be sent him for his direction on certain important occasions, that he would send him none, for he knew how to act without any; and, indeed, all the measures that he took abroad were so exact and just, as to square with the councils and plan of policy at home.

After the performing so many signal services, the admiral departed from Italy to attend his majesty to Hanover; and the king, among many other gracious expressions of favour and satisfaction, told him that he had found out the secret of obliging his enemies as well as his friends; and, that the court of Spain had mentioned, with great acknowledgments, his fair and friendly behaviour in the provision of transports, and other necessaries, for the embarkation of their troops, and in protecting them from many vexatious oppressions that had been attempted. No wonder that a man endowed with such talents, and such a disposition, left behind him in Italy, and other foreign parts, the character of a great soldier, an able statesman, and an honest man.

During his majesty's stay at Hanover, he began to reward the eminent services of Sir George Byng, by making him treasurer of the navy, and rear-admiral of Great Britain; and, on his return to England, one of his most honourable privy-council.

In the year 1721, he was created a peer of Great-Britain, by the title of viscount Torrington, and baron Byng, of Southill, in Devonshire: and, in 1725, he was made one of the knights of the Bath; upon the revival of that order.

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At his late majesty's accession to the throne, he was made first commissioner of the admiralty; in which high station he continued to his death, which happened at his house in the Admiralty, in June 1733. He was buried at Southill, in Bedfordshire.

During the time he presided in the Admiralty, he laboured in improving the naval power of this kingdom; in procuring encouragement for seamen, who in him lost a true friend; in promoting the scheme for establishing a corporation for the relief of widows and children of commission and warrant officers in the royal navy; and in every other service to his country that he was capable of.

He married, in 1692, Margaret, daughter of James Master, of East-Landen, in Kent, Esq; by whom he had eleven sons and four daughters; but only three of the former, and one of the latter survived him.

Authorities. Biog. Britann. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. Smoller's Hist. of England.

The LIFE of

JOHN CAMPBELL,

Duke of ARGYLL and GREENWICH.

[A. D. 1678, to 1743.]

JOHN CAMPBELL, an able, honest politician, a steady patriot, and a celebrated general, was born in the year 1678.

In early youth he discovered a solid, penetrating judgment, and ready wit; but having at the same time taken a resolution to enter into the military service, he did not so assiduously devote himself to his studies as he might otherwise have done, though, before he was fifteen, he had made a great progress in classical learning, and some branches of philosophy: but, when he came to riper years, he retrieved this deficiency, by reading the best authors, which, joined to the knowledge of mankind he had acquired by being early engaged in affairs of the greatest importance, enabled him to give that lustre to his natural genius, which distinguished him as an orator and a man of learning, upon many remarkable occasions, in parliament.

In 1694, when not full seventeen years of age, king William gave him the command of a regiment.

His father, the first duke of Argyll, dying in 1703, his grace was soon after sworn of his majesty's privy-council; appointed captain of the Scotch horse-guards, and one of the extraordinary lords of session of Scotland.

In

In 1704, he was installed one of the knights of the Thistle; and, in 1705, he was made a peer of England, by the title of baron of Chatham, and earl of Greenwich.

At the battle of Ramillies, in 1706, he acted as brigadier-general; and, though but a young man, gave signal proofs of his valour and conduct. He also commanded at the siege of Ostend, as brigadier-general; and in the same station at that of Menin; and was in the action of Oudenard, in 1708. At the siege of Ghent, in the same year, he commanded as major-general, and took possession of the town.

In 1709, at the siege of Tournay, which was carried on by three attacks, he commanded one of them, in quality of lieutenant-general, to which rank he had been raised a few months before. At the bloody battle of Malplaquet, the same year, the duke of Argyll was ordered to dislodge the enemy from the wood of Sart, which he executed with great bravery and resolution, pierced through it, and gained a considerable post; but narrowly escaped, having several musquet-balls through his clothes, hat, and perriwig.

In 1711, he was appointed ambassador-extraordinary to king Charles III. of Spain, and generalissimo of the British forces in that kingdom.

On the 8th of September 1712, the cessation of arms between Great Britain and France was notified to the Imperial general; upon which, the duke of Argyll sailed with the English troops to Portmahon; where, when he arrived, he caused the emperor's colours to be taken down, and the British to be hoisted on the several castles of that island; the governor, refusing to take an oath of fidelity to queen Anne, had leave to retire; but the rest of the magistrates complied.

After

After his grace's return to England, he did not remain long in the favour of the ministry, for he heartily joined in opposing all secret intrigues against the protestant succession; and in 1713, his grace made a motion in the house of lords, for dissolving the union, occasioned by a malt-bill being brought into the house for Scotland; which motion was carried in the negative, by four voices only; and, in the spring of the year 1714, he was deprived of all the employments he held under the crown.

Upon the accession of George I. his grace was one of the nineteen members of the regency nominated by his majesty, and on the king's arrival in England, he was immediately taken into favour at court; and made general and commander in chief of the king's forces in Scotland.

In consequence of this commission, his grace commanded the army when the rebellion broke out in Scotland, in 1715; and having received his instructions for suppressing it, he went to Edinburgh, where he published a proclamation for increasing the forces; from whence he marched to Leith, and summoned the citadel, into which brigadier M^cIntosh, one of the pretender's generals, had retired, to surrender; but, upon M^cIntosh sending for answer, that he was determined to hold out, and neither to give nor take quarter, if they engaged, the duke, who could not carry the place for want of artillery, thought proper to retire, and return to Edinburgh.

The particulars of this rebellion are so well known, and so fully related in Oldmixon's annals of George I. that it seems only necessary, in this place, to mention that his grace, during the whole course of it, exerted himself in the most proper manner, against the enemies of his majesty king George, and the protestant succession; and, after
having

having put the army into winter-quarters, he returned to London, and arrived there in the month of March 1716, and was most graciously received by his majesty; but, in a few months, to the surprise of all mankind, he was turned out of all his places. But the prince of Wales, afterwards George II. was pleased to express an esteem for him, which continued many years, both while he was under the displeasure of his majesty, and after the reconciliation.

It is in the duke's conduct in parliament that we must search for the reasons of his political disgrace. We must therefore review it with attention, and it must likewise be observed, to his grace's honour, that he joined with those humane persons who recommended it to the ministry in vain, to be more merciful to the delinquents, after the rebellion was suppressed.

In June 1715, when the famous schism-bill was brought into the house of lords, he opposed it with great zeal and strength of argument. In the debate on the mutiny-bill, he opposed any extension of the military power, and urged the necessity of a reduction of the standing army, a step which was by no means agreeable to the court.

In the beginning of the year 1719, his grace was again admitted into his majesty's favour, who was pleased to appoint him lord-steward of his household, and to create him duke of Greenwich.

In 1722, the duke of Argyll distinguished himself in the house of lords in the very interesting debate on the bill for banishing the famous Dr. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester; and it was chiefly owing to his grace's persuasive eloquence that the bill passed.

In 1726, his grace was appointed colonel of the prince of Wales's regiment of horse. But notwithstanding

standing these promotions, the duke with patriotic zeal for his native country warmly opposed the extension of the malt tax this year to Scotland.

From this time, we have no memoirs of any transactions in the life of this great man deserving public notice, till the year 1737, when a bill was brought into parliament for punishing the lord provost of Edinburgh, for abolishing the city guard, and for depriving the corporation of several ancient privileges on account of the insurrection in 1736, when the mob broke into the prison, took out captain Porteus and hanged him: the duke of Argyll opposed this bill with great warmth, in the house of lords, as an act of unjust severity; his grace's opposition to this bill highly displeased the ministry, but they did not think proper to shew any public marks of resentment at that time.

In 1739, when the convention with Spain was brought before the house, for their approbation, he spoke with warmth against it, and in the same session his grace opposed a vote of credit, as there was no sum limited in the message sent by his majesty.

On the 15th of April, 1740, the house took into consideration the state of the army, upon which occasion he made an eloquent speech; wherein he set forth, with great strength of argument, the misconduct of the ministry, shewing a tender regard for the person of his sovereign, while he exerted an unfeigned zeal for the good of the community. Sir Robert Walpole being exasperated at this step, his grace was soon after dismissed from all his employments.

Upon the election of a new parliament, in 1741, on the application of the city of Edinburgh, and several corporations, who addressed him in form at that time, he pointed out to them men of steady, honest, and loyal principles, and independent for-
tunes;

tunes; and, where he had any interest, he endeavoured to prevail with the electors to choose such men.

When the parliament was opened, the minister found he had not influence to maintain his ground; and a parliamentary enquiry into his conduct being set on foot; he was discharged his post, and created a peer, with the title of earl of Orford.

His royal highness Frederick prince of Wales, and the duke of Argyll, had a principal share in the disgrace of Sir Robert.

The duke, in consequence of this change, became the darling of the people, and he seemed likewise to be perfectly restored to favour at court, for he was made master-general of the ordnance, colonel of his majesty's royal regiment of horse-guards; and field marshal, and commander in chief of all the forces in South Britain. But in a few months, his grace perceiving that a change of men produced little or no change of measures, he resigned all his posts, and from this time retired from public business, ever after courting privacy, and living in retirement.

The duke had been, for some years, labouring under a paralytic disorder, which put a period to his life in the year 1743.

His grace married, when young, Mary, daughter of John Brown, Esq; and niece of Sir Charles Duncomb, lord mayor of London; but she dying in 1708, without issue, he married Jane, daughter of Thomas Warburton, of Winnington, in Cheshire, Esq; by her he had four daughters; the eldest of whom married the earl of Dalkeith, son and heir apparent to the duke of Buccleugh; and the second the earl of Strafford; both in his life-time.

His grace was a tender father, and an indulgent master; he was delicate in the choice of his friends, but when chosen, very constant to them; he was

flow of promising favours ; but when promised, the performance was sure ; though he often chose rather to purchase preferment for his relations than to beg it.

He was naturally compassionate to all mankind ; and, when he met the man of merit in want, his bounty was very extensive ; nor would he keep the man he was either unable or unwilling to serve in suspense.

He preserved a dignity in his behaviour, which was often mistook for pride ; but he was naturally facetious, amongst his select friends.

A superb monument was erected in Westminster-abbey to his memory, Sir William Fermor, while his grace was living, having left 500*l.* to defray the expence of it, out of regard to the great merit of his grace, both as a general and a patriot.

*** * Authorities.** Biog. Britannica. Annals of Geo. I. and II.

VOL. VI.

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The

The LIFE of
SIR ROBERT WALPOLE,
Earl of ORFORD.

[A. D. 1674, to 1745.]

THIS great statesman, whose transactions, while he was at the head of the treasury, and governed the councils of Great Britain, make a conspicuous figure in the annals of George the first and second, was born in the year 1674, and was descended from a family which had flourished in the county of Norfolk, and had been reputed amongst those of chief note, ever since the reign of Edward I.

He was educated on the foundation at Eton school; from thence elected to King's College in Cambridge; and admitted, on the 12th of April, in the place of Horsmonden Cannon, 1681; but, by the death of his brother, becoming intitled to the estate, which was inconsistent with the tenure of his fellowship, he resigned it.

He was first elected to serve in parliament, for King's Lynn, in Norfolk in the year 1700; and he represented that borough in several succeeding parliaments.

In 1705, Mr. Walpole was appointed by her majesty, queen Anne, to be one of the council to his royal highness prince George of Denmark, lord-high-admiral of England, in the affairs of the admiralty.

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In 1707, he was made secretary at war; and in 1709, treasurer of the navy.

Upon Dr. Sacheverel's impeachment he was chosen one of the managers of the house of commons to make good the articles against him; and the managers had the thanks of the house of commons for their services.

On the change of the ministry, which happened in August 1710, he was removed from all his posts, and was not restored to any public employment under the crown, during the remainder of the queen's reign.

His opposition to the tory administration, and his attachment to the great duke of Marlborough brought upon him a further disgrace in the session of parliament in 1711, for he was charged by the commissioners appointed by the house of commons to examine the public accounts, with having received the sum of five hundred guineas, and a note for 500 more, while he was secretary at war, as documents for granting two advantageous contracts to supply forage for the cavalry quartered in Scotland. This the tory party represented as an heinous offence, and having secured a majority, they voted Mr. Walpole guilty of a high breach of trust and notorious corruption, for which he was expelled the house, and committed to the tower.

But his known abilities, and his remarkable zeal for the succession of the house of Hanover, which he had so warmly and successfully asserted, brought him into the service of his country again, soon after king George the first's accession to the throne; and accordingly he was made paymaster to the guards and garrisons at home, and to the forces abroad, in September 1714, five days after the king's landing. And a new privy council being appointed to meet on the 1st of October 1715, he was sworn in, and took

took his place accordingly. On the 10th of the same month, he was constituted first lord commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; and the same year chosen chairman to the committee of secrecy, appointed by the house of commons, to enquire into the conduct of those evil ministers, who brought a reproach on the nation, by the unsuitable conclusion of a war, which had been carried on in the late reign at so vast an expence; and had been attended with such unparalleled successes.

Mr. Walpole took an active part in this business, and in the session of parliament of this year he was made chairman of the committee of secrecy, upon whose report, the house ordered Mr. Prior and Mr. Thomas Harley into custody, for the part they had taken in negotiating the peace. He likewise impeached the famous lord Bolingbroke, who, foreseeing the storm, had fled to France.

In the month of April 1717, his majesty sent a message to the house of commons, demanding an extraordinary supply, the better to enable him to secure his kingdoms against the designs of Sweden. The message was delivered, and the supply moved for, by Mr. Stanhope, secretary of state, and it occasioned a very warm debate, in which the friends of the cabinet were divided, and some of the minister's immediate dependants voted against the motion. Mr. Walpole himself remained silent, but finding it was carried by so small a majority as four votes, and lord Townshend being dismissed from the post of lord lieutenant of Ireland for voting against this supply in the upper house; Mr. Walpole the very next day waited on the king, and resigned all his employments. His example was followed by the duke of Devonshire, Mr. Pulteney, and all the principal whigs in office. But on the very day of his
resignation

resignation he brought into the house of commons the famous *sinking-fund* bill.

On the 4th of June 1720, a coalition of parties took place, Mr. Walpole's friends, the duke of Devonshire, lord Townsend, Mr. Pulteney and Mr. Methuen were restored to the royal favour, and he was once more made paymaster general of all his majesty's forces; and, on the fourth of May, first lord commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer.

His majesty declaring to his parliament, on the twenty-sixth of May 1723, that some extraordinary affairs required his presence abroad for the summer, was pleased to nominate Mr. Walpole one of the lords justices for the administration of the government; and he was, by his majesty's command, sworn sole secretary of state, during the absence of the lord viscount Townshend, and the lord Carteret, who accompanied the king to Hanover.

In the month of May 1725, the king revived the ancient and honorable military order of the knights of the bath, in honour to his second son, prince William, the renowned duke of Cumberland, who was made the first knight, the duke of Montague was appointed grand master, and among the knights were Mr. Robert Walpole and his eldest son, lord Walpole. This gentleman had been created a peer by letters patent in 1723, and the reasons assigned for conferring this dignity are stated in the preamble to the patent, which contains the highest encomiums on the public character of Sir Robert, and the promising genius of his son. The whole number of knights was 38, including the sovereign, by whom they were invested with great solemnity on the 27th. And on the 7th of June, the same year, his majesty declared him one of the lords justices.

for the administration of affairs, during his continuance at Hanover.

On the 26th of May 1726, Sir Robert was elected knight companion of the most noble order of the garter (with his grace the duke of Richmond) and installed at Windor on the 16th of June following.

Such signal honours thus rapidly bestowed on himself and family, excited the envy of the ambitious; and the measures of his administration being both novel and bold, the press teemed with invectives against him: he was styled the father of corruption, and a strong party was formed to displace him; but having secured an interest in the heir to the throne, all the designs of his adversaries proved abortive, by the sudden death of George I. in 1727; and they had the mortification to see him enjoy a still greater plenitude of power soon after the accession of George II. To examine the measures of his long administration, as prime or rather sole minister of Great Britain, with impartiality, considered in a political light, would require a much larger share of political abilities than falls to the lot of the editor; and after all, it would be impossible to give satisfaction; his public character appearing odious in the sight of one party, while it is as lavishly applauded by the other. On this account, and because such an investigation would likewise require the introduction of a series of national events sufficient of themselves to form a volume, we refer the curious reader to the histories of those times, he is most inclined to esteem.

Sir Robert Walpole continued to be prime minister till the year 1742, when the election for members for Westminster being carried against the court, by two voices, and that for Chippenham, by one; he thought it high time to provide for his own safety, by retiring from a house in which even so small a majority had it in their power at any time

time to impeach him; accordingly, having been very roughly handled in the debate, he came out of the house, and in the lobby declared he would never enter it again.

But what fixed his resolution to throw up all his employments was, a step taken by the prince of Wales, his present majesty's father, who, being at that time at variance with the king, made the removal of this minister a preliminary article of reconciliation, to which his majesty acceded; and Sir Robert, to avoid the disgrace of being dismissed, resigned. The reconciliation took place immediately between the king and the prince; but his majesty, unwilling to let Sir Robert's enemies enjoy too great a triumph, called him up to the house of peers, by creating him baron of Houghton, (the seat of the family) viscount Walpole, and earl of Orford. However, the royal protection could not screen him from a parliamentary enquiry into his conduct. In March 1742, lord Limerick moved the house of commons, that a committee might be appointed to enquire into the conduct of affairs at home and abroad, for the last twenty years (the space of time the late minister had been at the helm) but this motion being thought too general, both as to time and matter, after a long debate, was rejected by a majority of only two voices. Not discouraged by this disappointment, the same nobleman, a few days after, made another motion: "That a committee be appointed to enquire into the conduct of Robert earl of Orford, during the last ten years of his being first lord commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer." This motion was carried by a majority of seven; and a committee of secrecy, consisting of 21 members, was elected by ballot.

On the 13th of April, lord Limerick reported from the committee, that they had been greatly obstructed in their proceedings, by the obstinacy of Nicholas Paxton, Esq; late solicitor to the treasury, of Gwynn Vaughan, Esq; and of Mr. Scroop, secretary to the treasury, who refused to answer interrogatories put to them by the committee. Upon which, the house committed Paxton to Newgate; and as this gentleman and his associates had pleaded in their defence, that the laws of England did not compel any man to reveal matters tending to accuse themselves; in order to obviate this difficulty, a bill of indemnity was passed for such persons as should upon examination, make discoveries concerning the disposition of public money, or offices, or any payment or agreement in respect thereof, or concerning other matters relating to the conduct of Robert earl of Orford. This bill, after a long debate, was rejected in the house of lords; and no man opposed it more strenuously than lord Carteret, the professed enemy of lord Orford.

This able statesman justly considered it as opening a door to the inferior servants of the crown, to accuse the superior officers of state upon every change of the ministry with impunity; to which they might be tempted, by the hopes of securing their places under a new administration.

The friends of the bill in the lower house, complained of an obstruction of public justice; and they examined the journals of the house of peers for precedents of such a refusal to concur with the commons, in an affair of national justice. In a word, a great misunderstanding was created between the two houses, which would have been carried to violent lengths, if the king had not prorogued the parliament, and thus saved his old servant;

vant; for the cry of vengeance without doors extended to his life, and it was openly declared, that nothing less than his head could be accepted as an atonement for his crimes.

In the next session of parliament, on the first of December 1743, the motion was revived for appointing a committee for the same purposes as that of the preceding year, but it was rejected by a majority of 67 votes.

Thus ended an enquiry, which had thrown the nation into a general ferment; and had only brought to light an offence, universally suspected or known to have been practised by most prime ministers, and likely to be continued as long as so much unconstitutional power is vested in any one man. I mean, a misapplication of more or less of the public money, to the purposes of supporting that power, by bribes to needy, venal, dependants.

When this storm was over, the earl of Orford retired from public life, his majesty having granted him a pension of 4000 l. per annum; but he did not long enjoy his happy retreat; for his unwearied attention to the extensive duties of his high station, for such a long course of years, had impaired his constitution, which yielded to the infirmities of an advanced age, and closed the life of this famous statesman in the year 1745.

Diversity of sentiments will always render his public character a doubtful one; but all his contemporaries agree in bestowing the highest encomiums on his private conduct.

He is represented to have been a tender parent, a kind master, a beneficent patron, a firm friend, and a most agreeable companion.

Mr. Walpole, his relation, has given the earl of Orford a place in his catalogue of Noble Authors; but it is proper to observe, that his lordship's literature

rary abilities seem to have been confined to the sphere of life in which he moved: for all he is known to have written or published are political tracts, on temporary and local subjects; of which a list is given in the said catalogue, vol. ii. and in the supplement, or vol. xii. of the New General Biographical Dictionary. To which authorities, and the best historians of the time when lord Orford flourished, the editor is indebted for these memoirs.

The LIFE of

JOHN DALRYMPLE,

Earl of STAIR.

[A. D. 1673, to 1747.]

THIS celebrated general and accomplished statesman was the eldest son of John Dalrymple, Esq; created, for his services to king William at the revolution, first viscount, and afterwards earl, of Stair: his mother was the lady Elizabeth Dundas, daughter to Sir John Dundas, of Newliston: he was born in the year 1673; and, even while an infant, discovered an ardour for military glory. He very early mustered up a regiment of young boys of his own age, denominating them after his own name; and it was surprising to observe, in how short a time they were enabled to go through the several evolutions of the military exercise, while their alacrity, when under the eye of their young com-

commander, gave a sure prelude of that superior greatness of soul which afterwards appeared in him, and procured him both the confidence of his sovereign, and the admiration of his country. Like another Cyrus, he discouraged every thing that was dastardly and unbecoming in the young gentlemen of his own age; and, with the utmost address, encouraged what was manly, becoming, and virtuous in them.

Scarcely was he arrived at the age of ten years, when he made the most surprising progress in the Greek and Latin tongues; and, being well acquainted with these, the French became easy to him. He was trained up by a governor for some years, and then put to the college of Edinburgh under a guardian, where he had run through the whole course of his studies in that seminary, at the fourteenth year of his age; and was designed by his father for the law; but, his passion for the military life was unconquerable.

He left the college of Edinburgh in the year 1688, and went over to Holland; where he passed through the first military gradations under the eye of that distinguished and august commander, king William III. then prince of Orange, who shewed him great respect in presence of his general officers, and treated him with the tenderness of an affectionate father.

It was here that our young hero learned fortification and gunnery, in which he afterwards improved under the eye of the famous engineer Coehorn; here likewise he laid the foundation of that free and disinterested spirit which he breathed in every air, and practised in every clime, for the service of his country; and about this time he learned the French, Spanish, German, Italian, and Dutch languages; all of which he spoke with great purity.

At the time of the glorious revolution, he came over to Scotland, and in so particular a manner laid down the hardships of the protestants, as to draw compassion from all who heard him; and, by a just representation of the designs of the house of Bourbon, which at that time he could shrewdly guess at, he confirmed those who were already engaged for the prince of Orange in the good opinion they had formed of his cause, and prevailed upon others to embark in the scheme. In a word, he performed the most substantial services; for, being with his father and grandfather at the convention of the states, he seconded their arguments with the most nervous eloquence; and the deputies were charmed to see such a noble tenderness and unaffected sympathy in a young man, whose gesture and mein commanded admiration from all who heard him.

He was among the first to declare for king William; and went up, with his father, to London, to pay his homage to the deliverer of the nation, by whom he was most graciously received, and taken into his majesty's service: he attended the king to Ireland, continued with him, as one of his life-guards during all his military excursions in that kingdom; and acted the most heroic part at that time that possibly could have been expected from the most enterprising officer. He also accompanied his majesty on his return to England, attended him while there, and accompanied him to Holland in the beginning of the year 1691.

King William was received at the Hague with the loudest acclamations, not only by the states general, but by the populace; and no person in his retinue was more caressed than young Dalrymple, whose early zeal in the protestant cause was not forgotten. Ambassadors from most of the German courts arrived

rived at the Hague soon after, to congratulate the king on his success, and to enter into new engagements with him for supporting the liberties of Europe; to which they were animated by the lively representation made by his majesty, of the critical juncture of affairs; and came to a resolution of raising two hundred and twenty two thousand men against France; whereof twenty thousand were to be raised from the national British forces.

Upon this occasion it was that his majesty conferred a colonel's commission upon Mr. Dalrymple; with which he served under his great commander at the battle of Steenkirk, fought on the 3d of August 1692; when the English bravery shone with the brightest lustre; for, though they could not force a camp fortified with hedges, and lined by cannon advantageously posted upon eminences, yet they cut off the flower of the French troops, besides five hundred officers, who were left dead on the field of battle.

No british officer signalized himself more in this engagement than colonel Dalrymple; he several times rallied his regiment, when the ranks were broken by the devouring cannon, and brought them back to the charge; performed miracles of bravery with them, and was instrumental in saving many troops from being cut in pieces, as he stopped the pursuit till they had time to rally and renew the attack.

From this time to the year 1702 we have no memoirs of colonel Dalrymple; but in the campaign of that year, we find him taking a vigorous part in the expulsion of the French from the Spanish Gelderland, under the command of the great duke of Marlborough.

The duke now honoured colonel Dalrymple with his particular notice, having observed his alacrity and resolution in the pursuit of the enemy, and that

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to all the ardour of a brave young soldier, he added the wisdom and conduct of an old, experienced officer; and though the duke, by a national prejudice, was not very fond of encouraging Scotsmen, yet his singular merit overcame that obstacle, and his grace held him ever after in the highest esteem.

The first effect of the duke's friendship was, his promoting our hero to be colonel of the royal north British dragoons; and this regiment being ordered, on the 9th of March 1703, to support a battery erected to destroy the walls of Peer, a small town in the bishopric of Liege, held by the French, the new colonel stood at the head of his regiment for several hours, while the troops were falling on each side of him, without the least alteration of countenance or desire to retreat, notwithstanding a furious cannonade from that quarter of the town.

Never was man more generous to the officers, or more popular among the soldiers, than he; for he so animated them by his example, by his action, and voice, that, after having made a sufficient breach in the walls, he marched up, sword in hand; was the first to scale the ladder, with a drawn sword in one hand, and a pistol in the other; he wardèd off the blow of a French grenadier, which was aimed at him, shot him dead on the spot, and mounted the wall, almost alone. The troops soon followed so glorious an example, and crowded about their leader, then exposed to the fire, not only of the batteries, but of the small arms of the enemy, who, being driven from their posts in confusion, communicated the consternation to their comrades, who quickly deserted the town.

The news of the taking Peer was carried quickly through the army, which resounded the praises of colonel Dalrymple.

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The undaunted courage shewn by his regiment upon this occasion threw a damp upon the French army; and, though secured by morasses and entrenchments, and superior in numbers, they refused to wait the coming up of the allies; but silently decamped in the night; while the duke of Burgundy, ashamed of that inactivity, which ended so ingloriously for him, repaired to Versailles, leaving the command to marshal Boufflers, who was only dexterous in commanding a flying camp, bombarding a city, or seizing a post by surprize.

It would be an endless detail to follow this brave officer from town to town, and from action to action, during the time that he served under the duke of Marlborough; especially as an ample account of the duke's campaigns has already been given in the life of that general. We shall therefore only observe, that colonel Stair signalized himself in the same manner at the siege of Venloo, as he had done at Peer; he was the first to climb up the rampart, and force his way into the fort; and no sooner was he on the wall, than he flew into the thickest ranks of the enemy, and by his intrepidity facilitated the surrender of the place.

At the assault on the citadel of Venloo, when the fort of Chartreuse was taken by the allies, colonel Dalrymple gave fresh proofs of his intrepidity; and he had the happiness to save the life of the prince of Hesse-Cassel, afterwards king of Sweden, who, in wresting the colours from a French officer, was upon the point of being cut down by the sabre of a grenadier, which Dalrymple observing, instantly shot the grenadier dead upon the spot, with a pistol.

The success of the British arms in Flanders, obliged Louis XIV. to sue for peace, after the campaign of 1708; and the duke of Marlborough returned home in March 1709, when he took occasion

casion to introduce colonel Dalrymple to her majesty, as an officer who had performed the most signal services in the campaigns in the Low Countries; and soon after succeeding to the title of earl of Stair, by the death of his father, the queen, as a reward for his military conduct, and as a first essay of his political abilities, was pleased to appoint him her ambassador extraordinary to Augustus II. king of Poland, one of the allies. The negotiations for peace being broke off, the earl of Stair left the court of Warsaw for a short time, and joined the duke of Marlborough at the siege of Douay, in Flanders, where he concerted with him the measures proper to be taken by the king of Poland against the Swedes.

During the time that he staid in the British army, a special commission arrived from England, to invest him with the ensigns of the ancient and honourable order of the Thistle; and the ceremony was accordingly performed by the duke of Marlborough, assisted by the earls of Orrery and Orkney; and soon after his lordship returned to Warsaw, to prosecute the business of his embassy, which was to induce the king of Poland to enter into an offensive alliance with the kings of Denmark and Prussia, against Charles XII. king of Sweden, the powerful ally of France.

The success of this negotiation was owing in a great measure to the amiable qualities of the earl of Stair, by which he gained the entire confidence and esteem of the king of Poland, who entered heartily into all the measures of the allies.

His lordship remained four years at the Polish court, in which time he formed an intimate acquaintance with most of the foreign ambassadors, and framed to himself a clear idea of the interests of the several courts in the north. He is thought,
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by some, to have been the first who, by means of the duke of Marlborough, projected the renunciation of Bremen and Verden, on the part of the king of Denmark, in favour of king George I. and as this was an additional jewel to his majesty's German dominions, so it was afterwards the very means by which Sweden was saved; as one million of crowns were granted by king George I. to that kingdom, and a powerful fleet sent up the Baltic to stop the incursions of the Russians, and to bring about a peace, which was afterwards actually concluded.

He was called home in the year 1713, when he was stripped of all his employments; and, having lived very splendidly at Warsaw, he contracted some debts, which, at that time, lay heavy upon him. His plate and equipage were ready to be arrested; and perhaps would have been exposed to sale, if one Mr. Lawson, who was a lieutenant in the Cameronian regiment, had not generously lent him the sum of 1800 l. and it is hard to say, whether Mr. Lawson's friendship or the earl of Stair's gratitude, ever after, was most to be admired.

He now returned from court to his own estate, thus following the fate of his patron, the duke of Marlborough, who had been served in the same manner about two years before.

But he did not remain long in retirement; for, upon the accession of George I. he was distinguished by that discerning monarch as one of the steady friends to his illustrious house, and as such he was received into favour, and upon the 28th of October 1714, was appointed one of the lords of the bed-chamber; the next day he was sworn one of the privy-council; and, in November, was made commander in chief of all his majesty's forces in Scotland.

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The scene now changed in favour of the duke of Marlborough, whose friends were for the most part chosen to represent the counties and boroughs in the parliament that was summoned to meet on the 17th of March 1715: and, in Scotland, the opposers of the former ministry prevailed; and the earl of Stair, though absent, was elected one of the sixteen peers to sit in the first septennial parliament.

Ambassadors were now sent to the several courts of Europe to notify the king's accession; and, as the French court was both the most splendid, and her intrigues the most dangerous, it was requisite to fix upon an ambassador possessed of an enterprising genius, great fortitude, a polite address, and deep penetration. The person thought of by the duke of Marlborough, and by the king himself, was lord Stair; who, on his being introduced to his royal master, was complimented on his prudent management in Poland, and intrusted with discretionary powers.

He set out for Paris in January 1715, and, in a few days after, entered that capital in so splendid a manner, that the other ambassadors admired his magnificence; but it was considered by the proud old monarch as an insult offered to him in his own capital, that a petty prince, whom, only a few months before, he had entertained hopes of depriving of even his electoral title and dominions in Germany, should, upon his ascending a throne so unexpectedly, authorise his ambassador to make a more splendid appearance than the minister of any potentate had ever done before, at Paris.

He was not many days there before an opportunity offered of exercising his political talents to advantage, of confirming his royal master in the good opinion he had formed of him, and of increasing the fears of the French king, who had heard of his

his character, and was chagrined at his conduct in a very short time after he had resided at his court.

By the ninth article of the treaty of Utrecht it was expressly stipulated, that the harbour of Dunkirk should be filled up; and that the dykes which form the canal and moles should be destroyed.

There had been a pretended execution of this article, but nothing like fulfilling of the treaty; and the king had ordered a haven and canal to be made at Mardyke, which were much more capacious than those of Dunkirk itself. Mr. Prior, the former ambassador, had complained of it, and insisted that the treaty should be fulfilled. An answer, full of the most evasive arguments, had been given, which was far from being satisfactory, and, as the matter still continued open, his excellency, the earl of Stair, laid a clear representation of the case before the French ministry; in which he demonstrated, that the works, according to the treaty, ought to be destroyed by engineers, and not left to the wastings of time, or encroachments of the sea, which every thing was subject to. He set forth, that it was inconsistent, in the nature of things, to think that the haven was demolished, while another was built in its neighbourhood which might prove more detrimental to the commerce of the British subjects than Dunkirk itself. He pointed out a way to carry off the back waters, without overflowing the country, as they pretended, and that with little trouble or expence; and then demanded such an answer as might be satisfactory to his royal master and his subjects, and prevent the bad effects which might be the result of a contrary conduct.

To this it was given in reply, that all imaginable forwardness had been shewn, on the part of the most christian king, exactly to fulfil the ninth article

article of the treaty of Utrecht, till hindered by the English commissaries themselves; that the canal, which he was obliged to open, for preventing the submerſion of a vaſt extent of country, and ſaving the lives of its inhabitants, ought to give no umbrage to Great Britain, ſince his inclination was not to keep fleets there for diſturb- ing the navigation and commerce of his neighbours; and, that he deſired nothing more than that France and Great Britain ſhould unite in the ſtricteſt bands of correſpondence and friendſhip.

Thus did the French court elude the force of the treaty, and openly pretend to live in harmony with the king of Great Britain, while they were actually meditating an invaſion in favour of the pretender to his crown.

But the earl of Stair was not to be deceived; and ſuſpecting the ſecret deſigns of the king, a faſt friend to the houſe of Stuart; he, with uncommon addreſs and vigilance, got to the bottom of the ſecret machinations of the French court; and tranſmitted home ſuch early and exact intelligence concerning the intended invaſion, that the pretender's enterprize failed, and a great number of his abettors in England were taken into cuſtody; by which means, the rebellion actually begun in his favour in Scotland, under the conduct of the earl of Mar, was checked in time, and its final ſuppreſſion facilitated.

Various ſtories are told, concerning the methods made uſe of by the earl of Stair to procure ſuch important ſecret intelligence, moſt of them calculated to amuſe the reader, by agreeable fictions, at the expence of hiſtorical truth.

The real fact, as it ſtands authenticated on record is, that the earl of Stair was maſter of the moſt inſinuating addreſs, and that he knew how to apply
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a bribe properly; by the influence of both he gained over an English roman catholic priest named Strickland, who was one of the pretender's chaplains, and his chief confidant. By means of this spy, lord Stair knew every project formed in the pretender's council, and from the same quarter, he obtained a list of the French officers who had engaged to accompany him to Scotland, with an exact account of the quantity of arms, ammunition, and provisions to be furnished by the French ministry.

The crafty Louis XIV. little suspected the depth of lord Stair's political intrigues, and therefore was thunderstruck when he was informed that his Britannic majesty, in his speech to his parliament, on the 20th of July 1715, had positively mentioned, that France was carrying on a plan to invade his dominions in favour of the pretender to his crown. He was at a loss how to behave; but, being informed of the many expresses dispatched by the earl of Stair, he sent for him, and told him pretty roundly that he was well apprised of the contents of the frequent dispatches he sent to his court; and, at the same time, he disguised the matter so far as to say,

"This can be from no other motive, but to inform your king of my bad state of health, which is far from being what you may wish; for if you come to my palace to-morrow, you shall see me eat a fowl as heartily as ever I did in my life-time."

Next day his lordship came to court, and saw the old king at dinner for the last time he ever appeared in public. The sickly monarch was very languid, and bore in his visage the evident marks of an approaching dissolution; and, for some time, seemed to loath all the delicacies of the table, till, casting his eyes upon the earl of Stair, he affected to appear in a much better state of health than he really

really was; and therefore, as if he had been awakened from some deep reverie, he immediately put himself into an erect posture, called up a laboured vivacity into his countenance, and eat much more heartily than was by any means adviseable; repeating two or three times to the duke of Bourbon, then in waiting, "Methinks I eat very well for a man that is to die so soon."

But this inroad upon that regularity of living, which he had for some time observed, agreed so ill with him, that he never recovered this meal, but died in less than a fortnight after.

This event happened on the first of September, when he left such advice to his great grandson, Louis XV. the late king, that, had it been followed, would have promoted his own happiness, as well as that of the nations around him; which was, not to imitate him in three things: viz. The passion he had entertained for the enlargement and aggrandizing of his dominions; his attachment to pleasure; and his excessive and useless expences, to the desolation of his subjects.

The death of Louis XIV. whom the French historians compare to Augustus Cæsar, would have proved fatal to the pretender's scheme, if it had not been secretly encouraged at home; but an enquiry being commenced against the former ministry, upon whom treasons and misdemeanors were charged, their friends thought proper to divert the trial, by carving out work from another quarter. Among those who sided with the late ministry was John earl of Mar, a nobleman bred up in all the principles of the revolution, to which he had hitherto firmly adhered. He was secretary of state at the time of the union, was one of the commissioners for concluding of it, and had continued in parliament, as a representative, till this very time; nay, so strenu-

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ously did he promote, and afterwards support it; that, when speaking of any thing which he insisted could not be altered, his usual phrase was, "You may as well dissolve the union." This man was, however, very cunning and politic; and so much did he delight in acting the part of a statesman, that it was his ruling passion. He had been intimate with the earl of Oxford (who was then in prison) and was supposed to have been privy to all his secrets, which, if once found out, must prove fatal to himself; therefore, to deliver his friend from his captivity, he devised the plan of raising a rebellion; and it was suspected that the earl of Oxford liberally furnished him with money for stirring up the confusion. These two great politicians easily foresaw that the insurrection could not produce any revolution favourable to the pretender; all they wanted by it was, to screen themselves from a parliamentary enquiry.

The earl of Mar was at no loss to find out engines, whom he could very easily move by the springs of his political views; and, lest he should be suspected, because, in this, he was acting contrary to all his former principles, nay, and to his solemn protestations of loyalty to king George, he brought over some young unexperienced noblemen, such as the earls Marishal and Strathmore, the marquis of Tullibardin and Huntley; and meeting them privately at Braemar, he talked of the scheme, and, by his insinuations, soon made an impression upon their minds, which were ready to receive the first that was offered.

Having got these noblemen to keep him in countenance, he was assured of being joined by the following considerable clans, the M'Donalds of Slate, of Clanranald, Glengary, Keppoch, and Glenco; by the Camerons, the M'Leans, M'Grigors, M'Kinnons,

M^cKinnons, M^cPhersons, M^cIntoshes, and many others; and though he looked with as much disdain on these tumultuous people (who have proved rebels to most of the Scots kings) as any man in Britain, yet he made use of them to answer his own and his patron's designs. These people immediately arose, to dethrone a king whom they had addressed but a few months before, with the most solemn protestations of loyalty, and had assured of their attachment to his interest; and, gathering strength as they advanced, they soon mustered up an army of ten thousand men, Scots and English included, to support the cause of the pretender, whose standard was set up at Braemar, on the 6th of Sept. 1715; and he was proclaimed by the style of James VIII. king of Scotland, England; and Ireland.

When the news of this rebellion arrived at court, the government immediately dispatched the duke of Argyll, then lieutenant general of the king's forces in Scotland, to suppress the rebellion. He quickly recruited the regiments which had been diminished by the king for the ease of his people, and had got together an army of three thousand three hundred and fifty regular forces, besides the Glasgow and other militia, by the 13th of November, when he attacked the rebels on Sheriff muir, to prevent their crossing the Forth.

The slaughter on both sides in this battle was very great; the left wing of each army was defeated; and neither side could properly claim the victory; nor could either keep the field; the duke of Argyll being obliged to retire to Stirling and the earl of Mar to Perth.

However, this check, joined to the severe loss another body of the rebels had sustained at Preston but three days before; where 1500 were taken prisoners,

soners by the generals Carpenter and Willis; put a stop to the rapid progress of this rebellion.

Among the regiments who distinguished themselves in the cause of their country at the battle of Sheriffmuir, was the earl of Stair's regiment of dragoons.

And while his troops were thus active in Scotland, the earl himself was not less so in his political capacity at Paris. For when these hostile attempts were carrying on in Britain by the pretender's party, his lordship shewed a proper and determined spirit, by presenting the following memorial to the regent.

"The underwritten earl of Stair, minister of Great-Britain to his most Christian majesty, finds himself obliged to represent to his royal highness, the duke of Orleans, regent of France, that, notwithstanding his royal highness has frequently assured the said earl, that he would faithfully and punctually observe the articles of peace made between Great Britain and France at the treaty of Utrecht; that he would not permit either arms, ammunition, officers, or soldiers, to be transported out of France for the service of the pretender: and although in conformity to these intentions, his royal highness had even sent express orders to all the ports and havens of the kingdom, it is certain, nevertheless, that the several particulars before enumerated, are every day transported from the harbours of France, without the least obstruction whatsoever from those who command in the said ports on the part of his most christian majesty.

"The late duke of Ormond and the pretender have been frequently on board certain vessels at St. Malo, which were known to be loaded with ammunition and arms for the pretender's service; and this with so little reserve or circumspection, that

they were publicly attended and followed by a troop of Nugent's horse, commanded by their proper officers, all mounted in their regimental clothes and accoutrements; and this without the least check from his most christian majesty's officers commanding at St. Malo.

"The pretender, not thinking it proper to venture himself to sea at this juncture, took the road towards Normandy, in order to embark at Dunkirk; and the late duke of Ormond, in the same manner, declining to land in England, came back to Morlaix.

"When the pretender was gone to Scotland, attended by the abovementioned troopers of Nugent's regiment, his royal highness was pleased to promise the underwritten minister, that he would treat them as deserters, if ever they returned to France; and the mareschal d'Huxelles, at the same time, assured the said earl, that he would hang them all, without distinction.

"These soldiers are now returned, and have joined their regiment. Monsieur Befach and his company remain, to this very hour, at Morlaix, as also the arms and ammunition that he had with him for his intended expedition; which being removed out of one ship into another, in the harbour of Morlaix, the commanding officer there was so far from confiscating the said arms and ammunition, that he even refused to search the vessel, though he was desired so to do by captain Campbell, commander of an English ship, which yet remains in that port.

"Within five weeks past, several vessels have sailed from Dieppe and Havre de Grace, with arms and ammunition, officers and money, for the pretender's service; all which are actually arrived in Scotland: and, to be more particular, there sailed
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a vessel from Havre de Grace, on the 17th of this month, in the face of an officer belonging to the king of Great Britain; who having represented to the marquis of Rouvray, that there lay, at that time, both in Havre de Grace and at Harfleur, at least twenty officers, ready to follow the pretender into Scotland, on board the said vessel, and begged him to prevent their embarking: the marquis replied, that what he said might be very true; but, that he could not prevent their going on board, having no orders from court for that purpose.

“ The said earl of Stair has also frequently represented, both to his royal highness the regent, and the mareschal d’Huxelles, that several generals, colonels, and other officers, then actually engaged in the service of France, were determined to go and join the rebels in Scotland. The said earl went so far as even to give the mareschal d’Huxelles a list of the said generals and other officers, who, agreeable to the said earl’s representation, are now actually at Boulogne, Calais, Dunkirk, and other places in that neighbourhood, ready to transport themselves with the first opportunity into Scotland, from whence they have been hitherto detained by nothing but the excessive cold of the season and contrary winds; the commanding officers in the said places openly avowing, that they have received no orders to prevent their embarkation.

“ The earl of Stair finds it his duty to represent these facts to the duke regent, to the end that his royal highness may himself determine, whether his orders have been executed with punctuality; and, whether it may be thought in Great-Britain, that the treaty of Utrecht has been faithfully complied with on the part of France.

“ The aforesaid earl of Stair finds himself obliged to acquaint his royal highness, that the late duke

of Ormond, and several others, who have conspired equally against their king and country, did, within a few days, begin their journey towards Bourdeaux and Bayonne; and that they have got together, upon the coast of Gascony, a considerable quantity of arms, ammunition, and ships, with which the court of St. Germain's boasts its intention to make a descent in Ireland; which, as the same court flatters itself, will be supported, not only with the money, but even with the troops, of France.

“The earl of Stair, who has always laboured with the utmost zeal, to establish a good and perfect friendship between the king his master and his royal highness the duke regent, cannot help being much concerned to find himself reduced to make remonstrances upon points of so ticklish a nature, so capable of destroying the harmony that at present subsists between two nations, and of producing such discontents as may be attended with the most grievous consequences, if not immediately prevented by necessary orders.”

It was not possible to elude the force of this representation; and, accordingly, his royal highness saw, that, to remove all suspicions, and preserve the friendship of Great Britain, to which he was strongly inclined, he must be obliged to speak decisively; agreeable to which, his answer was, “That he would forbid the exportation of any arms or ammunition out of the kingdom; and, that he should send such orders to all the ports of France as his Britannic majesty desired, together with proper instructions for the captains of such vessels as were bound for any part of Scotland.”

The success of this negotiation contributed greatly to the total suppression of the rebellion; for when the insurgents found themselves deprived of
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the powerful succours they had been promised from France, they began to disperse; and the pretender himself, receiving advice at Perth of the adverse disposition of the regent, gave up his cause for lost; and fled from Perth, accompanied by his general, the earl of Mar, to Montrose, where they embarked for France.

No sooner did the news of this happy event reach the earl of Stair, than he repaired to the regent, and completely put an end to the pretender's hopes, by presenting the subsequent memorial:

“ The earl of Stair, minister of the king of Great Britain to his most christian majesty, has received express orders from the king his master, to acquaint his royal highness the duke of Orleans, regent of France, with the flight of the pretender, and the dispersion of the rebels in Scotland. His majesty is persuaded this news will be very acceptable to the duke regent, as well on account of the proximity of their blood, as in regard to the strict friendship which his majesty has so carefully cultivated with his highness.

“ The treaty of Utrecht is so recent, that the king was persuaded his royal highness would have taken the necessary measures to have prevented the pretender's setting his foot in France; but since the said pretender has found means to return thither, his majesty assures himself, that, so soon as his royal highness shall be made acquainted with it, he will take the necessary measures to oblige him to quit the kingdom.

“ The king of Great Britain commands the earl of Stair to insist, in the strongest manner, with his royal highness, that those persons who stand condemned by the laws of England, and are declared rebels and traitors to their king and country, may

not be permitted to remain in France; and that the chief abettors and authors of the late rebellion may be immediately obliged to leave the kingdom; and that his royal highness will declare his resolution, not to permit the said rebels ever to return into France; or that other persons, who may hereafter be condemned and declared rebels, shall at any time be received, or find protection in that kingdom.

“ His royal highness is too reasonable and too wise, not to see the justice and propriety of this demand. Great Britain can never repose herself in safety and peace, whilst she sees those persons received and entertained in her neighbourhood, who have endeavoured, with open force, to bring on the ruin and total subversion of their country. Nor can France be perfectly assured that she shall not once again see herself exposed to bear all the blame and resentment due to undertakings of so mischievous a nature.

“ The king and people of Great Britain think themselves secure on the side of France, by virtue of the solemn treaty of Utrecht, by which the pretender is excluded from the dominions of his most christian majesty; and by which France stands obliged to give him no assistance, either in ships, arms, or ammunition; in money, soldiers, or officers; no, nor either council or advice, either directly or indirectly. Yet the abovementioned rebels arrive; they ask refuge and protection in France! and are no sooner there, than, by the commodiousness of their situation, and conveniency of the post, they plot and contrive the blackest and most detestable treason against their country; which, depending on the faith of the treaty of Utrecht, was unarmed and defenceless. In defiance of this treaty, they find means to bring the pretender

der into France, and, by their intrigues, they furnish him with ships, arms, and ammunition; officers, soldiers, and money; with which assistance the pretender has actually invaded Great Britain, and brought infinite damages to the nation.

“ His royal highness may imagine, that Great-Britain could not long endure the uneasiness that must be derived from the neighbourhood of those rebels, ready to bring fire and sword into the heart of the kingdom, and to renew all the horrors that accompany rebellion.

“ In this situation Great-Britain would find herself obliged to be perpetually upon her guard; and would be subject to continual disturbances and apprehensions; a condition more vexatious than even open war, to a nation equally anxious for the preservation of its laws and liberties, as desirous to live in peace with its neighbours.

“ His royal highness may learn, from the unanimous address of both houses of parliament to the king, what sense the nation entertains of this uncertain and violent situation. The king has the happiness of his subjects too much at heart, not to enter warmly both into their opinions and interest; and he flatters himself, that, upon this occasion, his royal highness will not refuse him the just proof he has desired of his friendship, and of his disposition to entertain a good understanding between the two nations.

“ For the same reasons, the king of Great-Britain hopes his royal highness, the regent, will concur with his majesty to solicit the duke of Loraine in the most effectual manner, that the pretender may not be permitted to return into his dominions.

“ The earl of Stair has also received orders to remind his royal highness of the declaration he has already made, that such officers in the service of

France, as followed the pretender into Scotland, shall be cashiered. And the king is persuaded, that his royal highness will not permit such general officers, colonels, and others, who may have followed and assisted the pretender in the late rebellion, ever to be employed afresh in the service of his most christian majesty: and, if any of the said officers should hereafter return, or be already returned into France, that his royal highness will cause them to be punished, so that their conduct may appear to have been as highly displeasing to his royal highness and the government, as it is contrary to the treaty of Utrecht.

“ To prevent all mistakes in a business of so important and delicate a nature, the earl of Stair has orders to demand an answer in writing to this memorial, which he passionately wishes to be such as may contribute to re-establish a good intelligence between the two nations.”

These memorials justly merited a place in the life of this great man, not only from the happy consequences they produced, in preventing a war between the two crowns; but as they are the most perfect models of able negotiation that can be presented to unexperienced ministers. And it must be observed, that the success of a difficult negotiation very often depends more on the style of a memorial, than on the most positive instructions from home, though the memorial must be drawn from them.

So resolute a declaration reduced the regent to the necessity of declaring himself once for all. There was no medium; he must either satisfy Great Britain, by refusing the pretender a retreat in France, or absolutely break with a prince whose friendship might be of service to him, for the sake of a guest who was both useless to him and his friends, as well

well as troublesome to those who protected him. In a word, fortune having already abjured the pretender, it was no hard matter for the regent to do so too; and, agreeable to this, by the advice of the abbot du Bois, he gave the earl of Stair a most explicit and satisfactory answer, after having acquainted the pretender with his resolution, who immediately retired to Avignon.

The expulsion of this prince from the dominions of France, and the publication of an edict, about the same time, prohibiting the French subjects to trade in the South Sea, were two points of such importance to Great Britain, that they justly laid the foundation of that friendship and confidence which at this time sprung up between the two nations. To balance the exclusion of the French from the South-Seas, the regent published a declaration permitting them to trade to Africa.

A good understanding was now established between the courts of Versailles and London, highly agreeable to the latter, as it gave the new sovereign an opportunity of inspecting and regulating the domestic administration of government. And as for the earl of Stair, his conduct upon the occasion gained him the esteem of the duke of Orleans, now declared regent during the whole minority of Louis XV. His lordship was likewise the subject of admiration among the French courtiers; but neither adulations nor civilities could put him off his guard, or relax his attention to the dignity and interest of his royal master, a proof of which is exhibited in the following remarkable anecdote.

One day the regent, attended with the most splendid retinue, went in his coach to pay him a visit; which his excellency being informed of, prepared for his reception. The coach halted at

the gate; and, when the earl of Stair descended from his apartment, the regent rose up, partly alighted from his coach, set one foot on the ground, and kept the other fixed on the step. His excellency, in the mean time, was advancing to the gate; but, observing the posture the regent was in, he stopped short; then turned about, and walked three or four times backward and forward, and at last asked one of the attendants, whether his royal highness was come to visit him as his Britannic majesty's ambassador, or as earl of Stair? To which receiving no answer, he added,

“If he comes to see lord Stair, I shall reckon it my greatest honour to receive any one officer of the crown, much more the duke-regent at the door of his coach; but, if he comes to visit the ambassador of my august and royal master, I think I should be unworthy the trust reposed in me, if I went further than I have done.”

This being told to the regent, he re-entered his coach, and afterwards caused it to be notified to his excellency, that he was not desirous of seeing him at court; and, for some months, he actually withdrew, till, hearing of the regent's fitting out a strong squadron at Toulon, which the court of Britain could not look on with indifference, he went to court; but in such a manner as argued a consummate policy, as well as an ardent zeal for the welfare of his country.

He set out for Fontainebleau in a private chaise, and, being met by the chancellor d'Huxelles, who was very pompously attended, he paid his compliments to his excellency in the most elegant manner, and invited him to take a seat in his coach: but his lordship thanked him for his civility, and told him; that he wanted not coaches, but was at present diverting himself

himself as earl of Stair. He then parted from him, and came to court; but the guards knowing him, declared they had orders to refuse him admittance. "Oh!" says he, "though the British ambassador be debarred access, yet the lord Stair is not."

On this he was allowed to enter; and having passed the first guard, he hastened through the others, and then immediately entered the presence-chamber, where the king and the regent were, surrounded by a vast number of nobility, gentry, foreign ambassadors, and general officers.

No sooner did the regent observe the earl of Stair, than he withdrew to an inner chamber, whither he was followed by his lordship, the company standing aside to let him pass; and, as he entered the room, he told him, that, if at present he denied him audience, perhaps, in time, he might be glad to have one in his turn. On this the regent and he conversed two hours; during which time he informed him of his intrigues with the czar, with the king of Sweden, and with cardinal Alberoni, prime minister of Spain, for bringing in the pretender. His royal highness observing, that nothing, though ever so secretly transacted, could be kept from so prying an ambassador; and that one half of the French nation were, through poverty, become spies upon the other, he made a merit of discovering the whole plan of the Spanish minister to lord Stair.

It was deeply laid, and is two curious and interesting to be omitted: we shall therefore endeavour to give a concise account of it; that the reader may be made acquainted with the political history of the first years of the reign of George I. in which the earl of Stair was the principal agent.

Though Philip V. grandson of the late king of France, was, by the treaty of Utrecht, allowed to

reign peaceably over the ruins of the Spanish monarchy, yet neither he nor his ministers being content with the treaty obtained, they endeavoured to better themselves by intrigues, and to procure by craft, what by force of arms was impracticable. Cardinal Alberoni, the then Spanish minister, knew very well, that though the emperor, by the late treaty, was put in possession of Sicily and Flanders, and secured in his other vast dominions, he was yet so far drained of his treasure, by the last war, as to have no great inclination to a rupture: he judged the same of the other powers engaged; and thinking that Great Britain had obtained too advantageous terms at the last general pacification, his aim was to give her a king, who would be apt to relinquish every advantage in gratitude for the favours done him.

But as Spain was unable alone to accomplish so great a project, the cardinal thought of proper tools from another quarter; and these were Charles XII. of Sweden, with the czar of Muscovy, whom he incessantly laboured to reconcile. The former was easily brought into the scheme, from a prospect of regaining Bremen and Verden, the investment of which had been given to George I. by the emperor; and, by means of the czar, an equivalent for the provinces he was obliged to cede to his imperial majesty; and the czar Peter I. was again allured with the bait of having his daughter married to the imaginary monarch, and of having a beneficial trade with Britain to the ports of his new conquered provinces: however, it is not to be presumed, that either the Swedish or the Russian court would have entered so readily into the cardinal's scheme, if some English and Scots gentlemen had not repaired, after the rebellion, to their dominions; more inflamed, after the defeats at Sheriff-muir and Preston,

Preston, than ever, with an inclination for war; and attributing their disasters in those battles entirely to fatality. The representations of these rebels, and the gold of Peru remitted from Madrid, were very powerful arguments with the two enterprising monarchs, whose ministers now met upon the overtures of peace, and for bringing about the cardinal's project.

Baron Goertz, the Swedish minister to the states general, who was one of the ablest statesmen in Europe, had twice an interview with the czar at the Hague; and having informed him that he had got considerable sums from the disaffected in England, for buying ships and ammunition for invading Scotland, the Russian monarch was so well pleased, that he went in person to Paris, in the month of May 1717; and, under pretext of visiting the academy, the arsenals, the chambers of rarities, and every thing that might excite the attention of the curious, he conferred with the regent upon the intended scheme. His royal highness, however, secretly desirous of having a king fixed in Britain by French influence, seemed not quite satisfied with it, either from an unwillingness to expend more treasure in favour of a fugitive, or because he thought, that the Spanish gold, with the Russian and Swedish arms, were sufficient to bring about the design, without exposing France to a rupture with England by his engaging in it.

The conference with the czar, though very secret, was, by the regent's secretary, communicated to the British ambassador, who directly acquainted his court; and such active measures were instantly taken, as rendered the scheme impracticable; at the same time, a letter from count Gyllenbourg, the Swedish envoy at London, to his brother Gustavus, then ambassador in France, having fallen
into

into the earl of Stair's hands, he transmitted it to the British ministry, by whom count Gyllenbourg was arrested, and most of his papers seized, in which were many letters from and to baron Goertz. From these it appeared plainly, that an invasion was designed; and, indeed, it might have taken place, had it not been for the seasonable intelligence given by the earl of Stair.

But these were not the only attempts in favour of the unhappy fugitive that were defeated through his means. He likewise had a principal share with Sir William Temple in bringing about the quadruple alliance; offensive and defensive, between his Britannick majesty, the emperor, the most christian king, and the states general of the united provinces; by which the designs of the court of Madrid were totally defeated.

However, the cardinal now openly received and entertained the pretender at the court of Madrid; and in hopes of making a powerful diversion in Hungary, he attacked the emperor, and fomented disturbances in the British dominions. Having likewise formed a design of seizing the island of Sicily, he fitted out a fleet for that purpose, and, in July 1718, this Spanish armament took several considerable places in the island; but while they were busily employed in attacking the citadel of Messina, the British fleet came to the assistance of the Sicilians, and, on the 11th of August, attacked twenty seven Spanish ships of the line, off Cape Passaro; after an obstinate engagement, the English took and sunk most of them: and soon after, the king of Sicily acceded to the quadruple alliance. This stunning blow so much chagrined the court of Spain, that an order was issued out for seizing upon all the British merchant ships and effects in that kingdom. His majesty George I. in return, granted letters of
marque

marque and reprisals to the British subjects against those of Spain, on the 3d of October; and on the 17th, war was declared against Spain.

The Spanish court was, at this time, the most intriguing in Europe; for she not only endeavoured to disturb the tranquillity of Britain, but likewise of France; for which purpose the prince of Cellemare, her ambassador at Paris, had entered into a conspiracy with some mutineers, to whom he gave pensions: the design was, to take away the regent's life, to make an inroad into four provinces of the kingdom; to gain over the French ministry to the Spanish interest, and thus pave a way for uniting the whole, or at least the greatest part of the French dominions, with those of the younger branch of the house of Bourbon reigning in Spain: which scheme might have taken place, and have rekindled the general war, if it had not been discovered in the following extraordinary manner:

Two noblemen, who were intrusted with a packet from the Spanish ambassador in France, to cardinal Alberoni, containing a relation of the progress which he had made with some noblemen for accomplishing the schemes of his court, took a chaise, which broke down about two leagues from Paris. The postilion, observing them to take more care of their portmanteau than of themselves (one of them saying, he would rather loose one hundred thousand pistoles than it) after driving them to the end of the first stage, he hastened to Paris, and gave immediate notice of what he had seen to the government. The council of regency being instantly called, proper officers were immediately sent off, with orders to stop them; which they effected at Poitiers, and not only arrested their persons, but sent their portmanteau to Paris, in which were found the plainest marks of a conspiracy. The same night (the 28th
of

of November) several persons of distinction were seized and sent to the Bastile; and the Spanish ambassador was commanded to leave the kingdom.

The abbé du Bois, secretary of state, wrote a circular letter the next day to the several ministers residing at the French court, and particularly to the earl of Stair, acquainting him with the motives which induced them to take this step with regard to the prince de Cellamere, by whose letters it was plainly seen, that he was inciting the king's subjects to a revolution, and that he had formed a plan to destroy the tranquillity of the kingdom; and then concluded, in terms which both discovered his respect to the British court, and a personal esteem for her ambassador.

Soon after this, a declaration of war was made by France against Spain; and though it was looked upon rather as fictitious than real, yet the burning of six new men of war upon the stocks at Port-passage, and the taking of some towns, put the matter of France's being in earnest beyond all possibility of doubt.

But no disappointments could check the restless spirit of the cardinal, who still fomented the tumultuous passions of the British rebels: many of the most considerable had retired, partly by his invitation, and partly without any, into the dominions of his master. And the duke of Ormond, their chief, having received notice to leave France, upon an application made to the regent for that purpose, Alberoni pressed him to repair to Madrid; this invitation however was kept a perfect secret; but, there were some people about the duke of Ormond, who, being elate with the prospect of the expedition, thought proper to communicate the design to their correspondents at Paris; and these having shewn their letters to one M'Donald, a lieu-

a lieutenant-colonel in the Irish brigades, he handed them about, till at last they came to the ears of the British ambassador, who sent captain Gardiner express, with an account, that the preparations of the Spaniards, at Cadiz, were certainly designed against South Britain; and that their fleets would put to sea the 7th or 8th of March 1718.

This piece of intelligence was communicated by the king to his parliament; who assured him of their utmost efforts to defeat so extraordinary an attempt; and every military preparation was made by land and at sea to oppose the invasion; which might have proved very formidable, if the enemies of their country had not met with a check from another quarter.

The duke of Ormond, with 5000 land forces on board, having provision, ammunition, and every other necessary, had embarked for the West of England; but meeting with a storm off Cape Finisterre, they were separated: his grace, with most of the English and Irish officers, were obliged to put back to Cadiz, while the earls of Marshal and Seaforth, and the marquis of Tullibardin, pursued their voyage, and landed at Kintail, in the north of Scotland, on the 15th of April, with about 400 Spanish troops. They were very uneasy to know the fate of the duke of Ormond, and deferred moving from thence, till they should hear what was become of his grace: but, before any certain accounts arrived of his disappointment, General Wightman was in full march to disperse them, having with him two Swiss and three Dutch battalions, one hundred and twenty dragoons, and about three hundred and fifty foot soldiers. He came up with them on the Pretender's birth day, at the pass of Glenshiel; where the M'Kenzies were stationed on one side, the marquis of Tullibardin,

bardin, with the laird of McDouall, upon the other, and the Spaniards intrenched in their front, making, in all, one thousand six hundred and fifty men. No sooner did they enter the pass, than, to their astonishment, the rebels, who lay concealed among the heath, alarmed them with their shot, and killed the colonel of a Dutch regiment upon the spot, which disheartened the soldiers much, till a major led them on, with such intrepidity, amidst the fire of the enemy, that he even played upon the flagellet before them. General Wightman observing the matter, ordered some hand-grenadoes to be thrown in among them, which fired the heath, then very long, about their ears; and one of the splinters wounding Seaforth in the wrist, his clan carried him off, and at the same time retired in the greatest confusion. As the general was unacquainted with the country, he ordered captain Monro of Culcairn, who was there with about eighty men of his brother's vassals, to pursue them; which he did with a surprising alacrity, and knowing the steeps, they mounted them, under cover of some coehorns that were brought to bear upon the enemy, whom they pursued from one rock to another, till that brave officer was wounded. The rebels placed in the right of the pass having given way, those on the left made off full speed, deserting the Spaniards, who now became an easy conquest; for they were all made prisoners of war without bloodshed.

This was the last effort in favour of the old Pretender, during the reign of George I. against whom so many plots and conspiracies were formed, but were as often baffled.

The refined policy of the earl of Stair was now become next to a proverb; and the splendour and hospitality in which he lived at Paris, endeared him

to

to the lower ranks of people, to whom he was benevolent and charitable.

They likewise constantly kept in mind his most magnificent entry into Paris, to congratulate their young monarch upon his accession to the throne, which far exceeded any thing of the kind; and had caused the circulation of a great sum of money among the tradesmen. It was therefore with great regret they received the news of his recall.

In short, his abilities had such an ascendant over the regent, before he left France, that, being once publicly asked, what part his royal highness would take in the troubles of the north? he answered, what the British ambassador pleases.

But he had so many occasions to maintain the dignity of his character, and he was so well inclined to do this by all external acts of splendour and magnificence, as well as by his political talents; that he greatly hurt his private fortune and incumbered his estate, which, with the debts he had contracted by gaming, made him solicit his recall. Upon his return, the king declared himself so well pleased with his conduct, that he would have created him a duke, if he had not been prevented by law. The deep sense which the king shewed of his fidelity, was the greatest and most illustrious eulogium of his virtues: the people echoed back the praises of their sovereign, while the whole of his dominions resounded with applause at his conduct; several prints of him were published, and every one took a pride to have his resemblance by them.

During the remainder of the reign of George II. he was one of the cabinet council; and, on his late majesty's ascending the throne, he was received into the same confidence.

In April 1730, he was made lord admiral of Scotland, which, with his other posts, he held till
April

April 1733, when he fell into disgrace at court, upon the following occasion :

In the winter of the year 1732, a plan was brought into parliament for changing the duties on tobacco and wine, and bringing them under the laws of excise, in order to prevent frauds in the revenue, of which those who had the management of the treasury loudly complained. This affair was disliked by the trading part of the nation, who made so great an opposition to it, that in January 1733, the tobaccoists of London, at a general meeting, agreed to act in concert with the committee appointed by the citizens, merchants, and traders of London, and, by all just and lawful means, to oppose any new excise, or extention of the excise laws, under any pretence whatsoever : several corporations earnestly recommended the same thing to their representatives ; and, in February, the city of London laid their grievances before their four representatives. Notwithstanding which, the scheme was proposed, and the motion, with regard to tobacco, was made, on the fourteenth of March, in a grand committee ; and, after a warm debate, the question was carried, by 266, against 205 ; and on the 16th of March in the house, by 249 against 189, and a bill was ordered to be brought in accordingly ; which being done upon the 4th of April, and read for the first time, the sheriffs, with several of the aldermen, common-council-men, eminent merchants and traders of the city, went in their coaches to Westminster-hall, petitioning to be heard by their council against the bill, which was appointed to be read a second time on the 10th of April ; but their petition was rejected, by 214 against 197. Other petitions were also brought in, when Sir Robert Walpole moved, that the second reading of the bill might be put off for two months (a usual mode

mode of laying them aside) this being agreed to, the scheme dropped; on which great rejoicings were made.

Among the number of those who opposed it in the house of peers, was the earl of Stair, not, indeed from any dislike he had to the then prime minister, but from a prospect of the dismal consequences that might arise, from a people for whose laws and liberties more martyrs have suffered, than for those of any other nation; and it being demanded, by the late queen, why he did so; his answer was, "that he wished her royal family better than to agree to such a project." A little time after, he resigned all his places into his majesty's hands; as did the lord Cobham, the duke of Bolton, the earl of Chesterfield, the earl of Burlington, and many others.

In the next session, which was the last of that parliament, he voted with all the candour and integrity that became so great a man, not regarding the smiles or frowns of a court; and when a motion was made in the house of lords, to petition his majesty to inform them of the persons that had advised him to remove so many eminent and truly brave men, he behaved with a moderation that became the greatness of his soul.

In June 1734, he appeared at the general elections in his native country; and, as the party who had sided with Sir Robert Walpole in promoting the excise-scheme had been at great pains to carry the elections of Scotland, he was the first to enter a protest against the method of their procedure; viz. that the military, who by act of parliament ought to be removed some miles from the place of election, were, nevertheless, under arms, at no further distance than half a mile: the dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, Montrose, and Roxburgh, the
the

the marquis of Twedale, and several other lords, who mentioned the very peers who were afterwards chosen, as those contained in the list named by the minister, and sent down by his agent, protested likewise. And the matter might have been carried to a greater length, had not the late duke of Argyll, during the heat of their debate, told the meeting, that he saw many strange faces in the room, and that he thought it ought to be cleared, on which several ladies, who had come in, withdrew, and were followed by the lords in the opposite interest: so that the court-party, as it was called, entirely prevailed; and the petition given into parliament, complaining of an undue election, was afterwards refused.

About this time, his lordship took to a rural life, and studied agriculture on his estate, which he understood to such a degree, that he might be called the Virgil of the age; he employed about two hundred workmen every day, and was as much admired for his husbandry at home, as he had been for his politeness at the court of Versailles.

During his retirement from court, he was visited by the nobility from all quarters; he corresponded with several generals abroad, and with some of those noblemen in England who had resigned at the same time with himself. He was facetious in conversation, and entertained his company with such discourses as served to instruct as well as to amuse. When speaking of the king of Poland, he attracted the admiration of all who heard him; and he has frequently declared, that he preferred hunting the stag at Warsaw, to the gallantries and amusements of the court of Versailles. His generosity was suitable to the greatness of his soul, for never man bestowed his favours with a better grace. One day a physician came from Edinburgh to visit him, and

and his lordship judging, that, if he offered him money, it might be refused, contrived a way to make him a present: he went to his parlour, and wrote a line, which he gave to the doctor to deliver, at the same time apologizing, in the most polite and amiable manner, for the liberty he took; the gentleman told him, that his lordship's commands were an honour to him, and with pleasure they should be obeyed. Upon his return to Edinburgh, he instantly repaired to the person for whom the letter was directed, and delivered it to him; when, to his surprise, he was shewn the contents of it, which were as follow:

Sir,

Pay the bearer thirty guineas, which is but a small compliment for his care of me; and place the same to the account of, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

STAIR.

It would be almost impossible to represent the whole of his amiable and generous actions. He was always a friend to the distressed; and, when stripped of all his employments, supported the dignity of a nobleman, who had once been an ornament to the British nation. But while he was encouraging husbandry, and doing good to mankind in a private situation, a change in the ministry was in agitation, which took place in 1741; and his presence was required at court upon the following occasion:

The British merchants had long complained, that letters of marque had been issued out from the Spanish admiralty against the British ships, under pretence of searching for contraband goods and passports; numerous representations were made upon

upon this head at Madrid, several conferences were held upon the subject; and at last a convention was signed, on the 4th of January 1739, in which Spain agreed to pay 95000 l. to compensate the losses sustained by the British subjects. This affair might have been amicably terminated, had not the coals of dissention been blown up from another quarter. Spain mustered up a claim of 68000 l. upon the African company concerned in the negroes, and refused to pay the 95000 l. till the 68000 l. were deduced; nay, so high did they rise in their demands, that Geraldino, the Spanish ambassador at London, declared, his master would as soon part with his eyes, as with his right of visiting ships in the American seas. But perhaps things had not so soon been carried to an extremity, if Geraldino had not informed his court of the divisions in parliament; and that, by some well-timed bribes, it was easy to get a majority which might obtain such terms as they pleased. This, with the bishop of Rennes's declaration at Madrid, that the people of England were ripe for a revolution, inflamed the Spaniards the more, which made them seize the British ships wherever they could find them. In consequence of these fresh insults, on the 23d of October 1739, war was declared against Spain.

Admiral Vernon, who had been sent to the West Indies to protect our trade, took Porto Bello on the 22d of November, and received thirty thousand piasters as a ransom for not pillaging the town. On the 1st of April 1740, he sailed to Carthagena, whose outworks he took, and then sailed victorious up to the harbour of the town, and debarked the land forces, under cover of the cannon from the ships; but a violent rain falling, which is mortal to our soldiers in those parts, and the ladders being

too short, through an error in the mathematician who computed the height of the wall of fort St. Lazara, they were obliged to retire, after trying what bravery itself would do. Hence Spain rose in her demands; and, being secretly assisted by the French, she was the more active in prosecuting her mighty projects.

About a year after the beginning of the war with Spain, an event happened, which, for eight years together, occasioned the most melancholy scenes: the emperor Charles VI. died the 9th of October 1740; on which day, his eldest daughter, now empress dowager, and mother to the present emperor, was proclaimed queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and archduchess of Austria; her ministers at the several courts of Europe notified her accession, and supported the legality of what was done, from her claim, in consequence of the will of Ferdinand I. and of the deed of Charles VI. dated the 20th of June 1722; wherein, with the unanimous voice of a general diet of the states of Hungary, then met at Presburg, an act was passed for settling the succession of that crown on the female line of the house of Austria, and their descendants, in failure of male issue, according to the right of primogeniture. The queen's title was acknowledged by several princes; but the elector of Bavaria refused, and claimed the crown for himself, founding his pretensions to the Austrian succession upon the same will of Ferdinand I. and descent from Charles V. as, also, that he was married to the emperor Joseph's daughter. The troops of his electorate marched, in September 1741, in support of his claim, and were followed by 30000 French forces, under pretence of securing the free election of an emperor according to the treaty of Westphalia, of which their king was the guarantee.

On the other hand, his Britannic majesty supported the Pragmatic Sanction, and opposed the election of an emperor by the influence of the court of Versailles; and though her Hungarian majesty was attacked by the king of Prussia, who marched his troops, on the 14th of December, to protect Silesia from insults, and at the same time deprived of assistance from the Russians, between whom and the Swedes a war had been just kindled; yet, under all these disadvantages, was she assisted by the British nation.

During the winter of the year 1741, the armies were active abroad; Lintz, and a few other places were taken by the Austrians, who gained some advantages in the field, and extended into Bavaria itself. At home, the parliament was taken up with examining into the merits of elections; many of which being carried against Sir Robert Walpole, he resigned his places into his majesty's hands; on which a total change ensued in the ministry. A resolution was taken for supporting the queen of Hungary, and restoring the balance of power, which must have been entirely destroyed, if the treaty for dividing the dominions of the house of Austria had succeeded, according to the proposal of France. In consequence of this resolution, three hundred thousand pounds were voted to her Hungarian majesty; and a considerable body of British troops were sent to Flanders, the command of which, as also of the Hanoverians and Hessians, was given to the earl of Stair, who now began, like the sun, after setting for a long night, to rise with the brighter lustre. In March 1742, he was made field-marshal of his majesty's forces, and ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the states-general.

This sudden promotion and restoration to favour, gave satisfaction to every true Briton; and the king received

received him with a tenderness and affection which convinced all present, that his majesty was inclined to remember the maxim of the wisest of kings: *viz.* "Not to forget his father's friends."

His lordship instantly applied himself to the management of the important business committed to him; and, knowing that he had to deal with the ambassadors of Spain, France, and the new emperor, he assiduously studied their memorials, and prepared replies to them before he set out for Holland, where, on the 10th of April, five days after his arrival, being conducted to a public audience of their high mightinesses, he made them a very spirited harangue, which had the desired effect, of engaging them in the queen's cause.

This memorial was followed by another, of the 18th of August, in which the pressing instances of the queen of Hungary, for assistance from his Britannic majesty, against a powerful French army, were laid down, and the pitiful artifices of the French detected. To mention every transaction of this consummate statesman, would swell this article beyond the extent of so small a volume; suffice it then to say, that the earl of Stair at length brought about a general pacification, seemingly to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned; but not till after the famous battle of Dettingen, where he, for the last time, distinguished himself, in concert with king George II. as a general of undaunted bravery and intrepidity, to whom the glory of that day is chiefly ascribed. Soon after this action, he petitioned to resign, which being granted, he again returned to the pleasures of a country life; but, ever ready to serve his king and country, upon the breaking out of the late rebellion he repaired to court, and offered his service to suppress it, which was gladly accepted; and he accompanied the duke of Cumberland to

Edinburgh, driving the pretender and his rabble army before them. After the suppression of this insurrection, he continued at court till the winter of the year 1746, when he repaired to Scotland, finding himself in a languishing condition, and unfit for business. By the help of his physicians he was preserved till about ten at night of the 7th of May 1747, when he breathed out a life spent in as eminent services for his country, as ever was that of a subject.

Thus died field-marshal John earl of Stair, who was a nobleman of the rarest abilities, equally fitted for the camp or the court; and how hard is it to say in which he excelled? "A man of the strictest honour and veracity; great without pride, handsome without vanity, just without rigour, wise without arrogance, bountiful without ostentation; supporting the highest of dignity with a decency, humanity, and moderation, only to be found among the great, being possessed of every talent that could make a man great in himself, serviceable to his king, or an ornament to his country."

"The earl of Stair, as to his person, was a man about six feet high, exceeding strait and genteel in his body, which inclined to an agreeable slenderness; he was, perhaps, one of the handsomest men of his time, and remarkable, among the nobility, for his graceful mien and majestic appearance; his complexion was fair, but rather comely than delicate; his forehead was large and graceful, his nose was strait, and exquisitely proportioned to his face; his eyes were exactly suited to his features, being of a blue colour, and full of sweetness. His amiable countenance, on which there was imprinted a natural smile, could not fail to inspire the spectators with a warmth of affection not to be accounted for: these endowments of body were but indications of the

the beauties of the nobler part, and which he possessed in their highest perfection. So that he might be considered as the favourite child of nature, as well as the brightest ornament of his native country."

* * *Authorities.* Henderson's Life of the earl of Stair. Smollet's Hist. of England. Annals of George I. and II.

The LIFE of

HENRY SAINT-JOHN,

Viscount BOLINGBROKE.

[A. D. 1672, to 1751.]

THE celebrated lord BOLINGBROKE; whose political writings and conduct as a statesman, have not been less the subject of censure, than his philosophical works, was a descendant of the lord chief-justice Saint-John. He was born at Battersea, in Surrey, in the year 1672; and his mother dying young, he passed his infant years under the care of his grandmother, a strict presbyterian, whose spiritual guide was the famous dissenting minister, Daniel Burgess.

At a proper age he was sent to Eton-school, and from thence removed to Christ-church-college in Oxford.

His native genius and excellent understanding were observed and admired by his contemporaries

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in both these places; but the love of pleasure had so much the ascendancy, as to hinder him from exerting his talents for literature in any particular performance. His friends designed him for public business; and when he left the university, he was considered as one who had the fairest opportunity of making a shining figure in active life.

United with the graces of a handsome person, he had a manner and address that was irresistibly engaging; a quick apprehension, great strength of memory, a peculiar subtilty in reasoning, and a masterly elocution; but for some years, all these extraordinary endowments were employed in nothing so much as finishing the character of a complete rake. He was in particular much addicted to women, and apt to indulge himself in late hours, with all those excesses that usually attend them.

In the year 1700, he was married to the daughter and co-heiress of Sir Henry Winchescomb, of Bucklebury in Berkshire, Bart. This alliance was in all respects suitable to his birth and expectations, and the same year, he made his first appearance in the house of commons, being elected for the borough of Wotton-Basset, in Wiltshire, by family-interest, his father having served several times for the same place: so that Mr. St. John, who was now about twenty-six years of age, took his seat in the senate, with every possible advantage.

He presently chose his party, and joined himself to Robert Harley, Esq; who, in this parliament, was chosen Speaker, for the first time; and he made himself conspicuous before the end of the session.

Persevering steadily in the same connection, he gained such an authority and influence in the house, that it was thought proper to reward his merit;

and

and April 10, 1704, he was appointed secretary at war, and of the marines. As this post created a constant correspondence with the duke of Marlborough, he became perfectly acquainted with the worth of that great general, and zealously promoted his interest.

It is remarkable, that the greatest events of the war, such as the battles of Blenheim and Ramillies, and the several glorious attempts made by the duke to shorten the war by some decisive action, fell out while Mr. St. John was secretary at war.

When Mr. Harley was removed from the seals, in 1707, Mr. St. John chose to follow his fortune, and the next day resigned his employments in the administration: he also followed his friend's example, and behaved, during the whole session of parliament, with great temper, steadiness, and decency. He was not returned in the parliament which was elected in 1708; but upon the dissolution of it in 1710, Mr. Harley being made chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer, the important office of secretary of state was given to Mr. St. John; and about the same time he wrote the famous letter to the Examiner.

Upon the calling of a new parliament, on the 25th of November, in that year, he was chosen knight of the shire for the county of Berks, and also burgess for Wotton-Basset, and made his election for the former.

This large accession of power placed him in a sphere of action that called forth all his abilities: the English annals produce not a more trying juncture; and Mr. St. John appeared equal to every occasion of trial.

He sustained almost the whole weight of the difficulties in negotiating the peace of Utrecht; and, in July 1712, he was created baron St. John of

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Lediard-Tregoze in Wiltshire, and viscount Bolingbroke. He was also, the same year, appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Essex.

But these honours by no means gratifying his ambition, he formed a design of taking the lead in public affairs from his old friend Mr. Harley, then earl of Oxford; which proved in the issue unfortunate to them both.

It must be observed, that Paul St. John, earl of Bolingbroke, a distant relation, died on the 5th of October, preceding his creation. That by his decease, though the barony of Bletsho devolved upon Sir Andrew St. John, Bart. yet the earldom became extinct, and the honour was promised to our author; but his presence in the house of commons being so necessary at that time, the lord-treasurer prevailed upon him to remain there during that session, upon a promise that his rank should be preserved to him: but when he expected the old title should have been revived in his favour, which, considering his services, particularly in that session, seemed reasonable enough, he was put off with this of viscount; which he resented as an affront, and looked on it as so intended by the treasurer, who had got an earldom for himself; being created earl of Oxford.

Lord Bolingbroke's own account of this transaction is too entertaining to be omitted, especially as it justifies in some measure his manœuvres to supplant his political patron.

"I continued, says he, in the house of commons during that important session which preceded the peace, and which, by the spirit shewn through the whole course of it, and the resolutions taken in it, rendered the conclusion of the treaties practicable. After this, I was dragged into the house of

of lords in such a manner as to make my promotion a punishment, not a reward, there left to defend the treaties alone.

“ It would not have been hard, continues he, to have forced the earl of Oxford to use me better. His good intentions began to be very much doubted of; the truth is, no opinion of his sincerity had ever taken root in the party; and, which was worse perhaps for a man in his station, the opinion of his capacity began to fall apace. He was so hard pushed in the house of lords, in the beginning of 1712, that he had been forced, in the middle of the session, to persuade the queen to make a promotion of twelve peers at once; which was an unprecedented and invidious measure, to be excused by nothing but the necessity, and hardly by that. In the house of commons his credit was low, and my reputation very high. You know the nature of that assembly; they grow, like hounds, fond of the man who shews them game, and by whose halloo they are used to be encouraged. The thread of the negotiations, which could not stand still a moment, without going back, was in my hands: and before another man could have made himself master of the business, much time would have been lost, and great inconveniences would have followed. Some, who opposed the court soon after, began to waver then: and if I had not wanted the inclination, I should have wanted no help, to do mischief. I knew the way of quitting my employments, and of retiring from court when the service of my party required it; but I could not bring myself up to that resolution, when the consequence of it must have been the breaking my party, and the distress of the public affairs. I thought my mistress treated me ill, but the sense of that duty which I owed her, came in aid of other considerations, and prevailed over

my resentment. These sentiments, indeed, are so much out of fashion, that a man who avows them is in danger of passing for a bubble in the world: yet they were, in the conjuncture I speak of, the true motives of my conduct; and you saw me go on as chearfully in the troublesome and dangerous work assigned me, as if I had been under the utmost satisfaction. I began, indeed, in my heart to renounce the friendship, which till that time I had preserved inviolable, for Oxford. I was not aware of all his treachery, nor of the base and little means which he employed then, and continued to employ afterwards, to ruin me in the opinion of the queen, and every where else. I say, however, that he had no friendship for any body, and that with respect to me, instead of having the ability to render that merit, which I endeavoured to acquire, an additional strength to himself, it became the object of his jealousy, and a reason for undermining me."

His lordship's conduct, during the four last years of the reign of queen Anne, brought in question both his religious and his political principles; for, though educated among the dissenters, and as it has since appeared, being attached to no system of religion whatever, he became a zealous high-churchman; and was secretly in the interest of the pretender, though he openly professed an inclination to serve the house of Hanover. Hence it is evident, that he complied with the temper of the queen at that time, with a view of being made prime minister.

In 1714, soon after the accession of George the first to the throne, the seals, as might well be expected, were taken from him, and all the papers in his office secured. However, during the short session

session of parliament at this juncture, he applied himself with his usual industry and vigour, to keep up the spirit of the friends to the late administration, without omitting any proper occasion of testifying his respect and duty to his majesty; in which spirit he assisted in settling the civil list, and other necessary points. But, soon after the meeting of the new parliament, finding that an impeachment of the late ministry was resolved upon, he withdrew, and crossed the water privately to France, the latter end of March 1715.

Upon his arrival at Paris, he received an invitation from the pretender, then at Barr, to engage in his service; which he absolutely refused, and made the best application that his present circumstances would admit, to prevent the prosecution against him in England being carried to extremities.

After a short stay at Paris, he retired into Dauphiné, where he continued till the beginning of July; when, upon receiving intimations from some of his party in England, of a projected revolution, he complied with a second invitation from the pretender; and accepting from him the seals of secretary of state at Commerce, he set out with them for Paris; in which city he arrived the latter end of the same month, in order to procure from that court the necessary succours for his new master's intended invasion of England.

The vote for impeaching him of high-treason had passed the house of commons on the 10th of June preceding; and six articles were sent up by them to the lords on the 6th of August following: and proclamations being issued for him to surrender, which he did not obey, he was attainted of high treason on the 10th of September the same year.

The articles of impeachment against his lordship were carried into the house of commons by

Mr. Robert Walpole, and were in substance as follows :

Art. 1. That whereas he had assured the ministers of the states-general, by order from her majesty in 1711, that she would make no peace but in concert with them ; yet he sent Mr. Prior to France that same year, with proposals of a treaty of peace with that monarch, without the consent of the allies.

Art. 2. That he advised and promoted the making of a separate treaty, or convention, with France, which was signed in September.

Art. 3. That he disclosed to Mr. Mesnager, the French minister at London, this convention, which was the preliminary instructions to her majesty's plenipotentiaries at Utrecht in October.

Art. 4. That her majesty's final instructions to her said plenipotentiaries were disclosed by him to the abbot Gualtier, an emissary of France.

Art. 5. That he disclosed to the French the manner how Tournay in Flanders might be gained by them.

Art. 6. That he advised and promoted the yielding up of Spain and the West-Indies to the duke of Anjou, then an enemy to her majesty.

It must not be omitted, that Sir Joseph Jekyl, a gentleman of the most unbiassed integrity, and great knowledge in the law, and a member of the secret committee, observed, that there was matter more than enough to prove the charge against lord Bolingbroke, at the same time that he declared his opinion, that they had nothing sufficient to support the charge against the earl of Oxford.

It is remarkable, that his new engagements had the same unfortunate issue ; for the year 1715 was scarcely expired, when the seals and papers of his new secretary's office were demanded and given up, which was soon followed by an accusation branched
into

into seven articles, wherein he was impeached of treachery, incapacity, and neglect.

Thus discarded abroad, he resolved to make his peace, if possible, at home; and in a short time, by that activity which was characteristic of his nature, and with which he constantly prosecuted all his designs, he procured, through the mediation of the earl of Stair, then the British ambassador at the French court, a promise of pardon, upon certain conditions, from his majesty king George I. who, on the 2d of July 1716, created his father baron of Battersea in the county of Surry, and viscount St. John; but he himself was not restored in blood, nor enabled to succeed to his father's peerage.

An extraordinary variety of distressful events had thrown him into a state of reflection; and this produced, by way of relief, his "*Consolatio Philosophica*," which he wrote the same year, under the title of reflections upon exile. He had also this year wrote several letters in answer to the charge brought against him by the pretender and his adherents; and the following year, he drew up a vindication of his whole conduct with respect to the Tories, in the form of a letter to Sir William Wyndham. He also took another method of supporting his spirits; his first lady being dead, he espoused about this time a lady of great merit, who was niece to the famous madam de Maintenon, and widow of the marquis de Villette; with whom he had a very large fortune, which was, however, encumbered by a long and troublesome law-suit.

In the company and conversation of this lady he passed his time in France, sometimes in the country, and sometimes at the capital, till 1723; in which year, after the breaking up of the parliament, his majesty was pleased to grant him a full and free pardon. Upon the first notice of this favour, the expectation

expectation of which had been the governing principle of his political conduct for several years, he returned to his native country.

It is observable, that Dr. Atterbury, the famous bishop of Rochester, who was banished at this very juncture, happening, on his being set ashore at Calais, to hear that lord Bolingbroke was there, on his return to England, made this remark: Then I am exchanged. And, from the following circumstances, we may conclude the bishop's conjecture was well founded:

Bolingbroke's leave to return home was granted immediately after the act for banishing Atterbury had received the royal assent; and this leave was obtained at the pressing instance of lord Harcourt, who had shewed great warmth in prosecuting the bishop. We are told also, that Sir Robert Walpole, who was observed not to be particularly engaged against the latter, opposed the return of Bolingbroke very warmly in a speech at the council-board, when the motion for it was made by Harcourt.

And two years afterwards, having obtained an act of parliament to restore him to his family inheritance, and enabling him likewise to possess any purchase he should make of any other real or personal estates in the kingdom, he pitched upon a seat of lord Tankerville's, at Dawley, near Uxbridge, in Middlesex, where he settled with his lady, and indulged the pleasure of gratifying his elegant taste, by improving it into a most charming villa, picturesque of the present state of his fortune; and here he amused himself with rural employments.

We have a sketch of his lordship's way of life at this retreat, in a letter to Dr. Swift by Mr. Pope, who omits no opportunity of painting him in the
most

most amiable colours. This letter is dated at Dawley, June 8, 1728, and begins thus :

“ I now hold the pen for my lord Bolingbroke,
 “ who is reading your letter between two hay-
 “ cocks ; but his attention is somewhat diverted,
 “ by casting his eyes on the clouds, not in admira-
 “ tion of what you say, but for fear of a shower.
 “ He is pleased with your placing him in the tri-
 “ umvirate between yourself and me ; though he
 “ says, that he doubts he shall fare like Lepidus :
 “ while one of us runs away with all the power,
 “ like Augustus ; and another with all the plea-
 “ sure like Anthony. It is upon a foresight of this,
 “ that he has fitted up his farm ; and you will
 “ agree, that this scheme of retreat is not founded
 “ upon weak appearances. Upon his return from
 “ Bath, he finds all peccant humours are purged
 “ out of him ; and his great temperance and œco-
 “ nomy are so signal, that the first is fit for my
 “ constitution, and the latter would enable you
 “ to lay up so much money, as to buy a bishoprick
 “ in England. As to the return of his health and
 “ vigour, were you here you might enquire of his
 “ haymakers : but as to his temperance I can an-
 “ swer, that for one whole day we had nothing for
 “ dinner, but mutton broth, beans and bacon,
 “ and a barn door fowl.—Now his lordship is run
 “ after his cart, I have a moment left to myself to
 “ tell you, that I overheard him yesterday agree
 “ with a painter, for 200 pounds, to paint his
 “ country hall with rakes, spades, prongs, &c,
 “ and other ornaments, merely to countenance
 “ his calling this place a farm.”

Happy would it have been for his lordship if he could have remained content in this delightful retreat, and have verified a passage in one of his letters to Swift. “ Neither my enemies nor my friends
 will

will find it an easy matter to transplant me!" But the seeds of ambition were too deeply rooted in his constitution; he pined after a seat in the house of lords, and some share in the administration of government; and being disappointed in these views, about the year 1726, he became a warm anti-ministerial writer, and soon distinguished himself by a multitude of pieces, wrote during the short remainder of that reign, and likewise for several years under the late, with great freedom and boldness, against the measures that were then pursued.

In the height of these political disputes, he found some spare hours for the meditations of Philosophy, and drew up several essays upon metaphysical subjects. Having carried on his part of the siege against the minister, Sir Robert Walpole, with inimitable spirit for ten years, he laid down his pen, upon a disagreement with his principal coadjutors; and, in 1735, retired again to France, in a full resolution never more to engage in public business.

It has been observed, that, in the prosecution of this controversy, our statesman found himself obliged, from the beginning, to recommend the earl of Oxford's old scheme, a coalition of parties (then called the Broad-bottom Scheme) the Tories being at this time out of any condition to aim at places and power, except as auxiliaries.

His lordship's own words, most clearly explain the circumstances under which he wrote, and which obliged him to lay aside his pen.

"The strange situation I am in, and the melancholy situation of public affairs, take up much of my time, divide or even dissipate my thoughts; or, which is worse, drag the mind down, by perpetual interruptions, from a philosophical tone or temper to the drudgery of private and public business. The last lies nearest my heart. And, since

I am

I am once more engaged in the service of my country, disarmed, gagged, and almost bound as I am, I will not abandon it as long as the integrity and perseverance of those who are under none of these disadvantages, and with whom I now co-operate, make it reasonable for me to act the same part."

As soon as the line of opposition was cut, he declared, that no shadow of duty obliged him to go further; his new friends having deserted him to go over to the ministry.

Plato, he observes, ceased to act for the commonwealth when he ceased to persuade; and Solon laid down his arms before the public magazines, when Pisistratus grew too strong to be opposed any longer with hopes of success.

His lordship followed these examples, but not without collecting his utmost force to give a parting-blow to the minister; which of all his masterly pieces is, generally esteemed the best.

He had now passed the 60th year of his age, and had gone through as great a variety of scenes, both of pleasure and business, in active life, as any of his contemporaries. He had pushed matters as far towards reinstating himself in the full possession of his former honours, as the mere dint of talents and application could go; and was at length experimentally convinced, that the decree was absolutely irreversible, and the doors of the cabinet finally shut against him.

If, in the decline of his life, he became less conspicuous, he became more amiable; and he was far from suffering the hours to slide away uselessly.

He had not been long at his retreat near Fontainebleau, when he began a course of Letters on the Study and Use of History, for the use of a young nobleman of distinguished worth and capacity.

In the mean time, it was obvious, that a person of so active an ambition as he was tempered with, must lie greatly open to ridicule, in assuming a resigned philosophical air of study and contemplation.

He saw it; and, to obviate the censure, he addressed a Letter to lord Bathurst, upon the True Use of Retirement and Study; in which he defends himself in so masterly a manner, that we cannot resist the impulse to give it a place, for the benefit of those who may be studying elegant composition.

“To set about acquiring the habits of meditation and study, late in life, is like getting into a go-cart with a grey beard, and learning to walk when we have lost the use of our legs. In general, the foundation of a happy old age must be laid in youth; and, in particular, he who has not cultivated his reason young, will be utterly unable to improve it old. *Manent ingenia senibus, modo permanens studium & industria.*”

“Not only a love of study, and a desire of knowledge, must have grown up with us, but such an industrious application likewise, as requires the whole vigour of the mind to be exerted in the pursuit of truth, through long trains of ideas, and all those dark recesses, wherein man, not God, has hid it.

“This love, and this desire, I have felt all my life; and I am not quite a stranger to this industry and application. There has been something always ready to whisper in my ear, whilst I ran the course of pleasure and business, “*Solve senescens mature sanus equum.*” But my genius, unlike the dæmon of Socrates, whispered so softly, that very often I heard him not in the hurry of those passions by which I was transported; some calmer hours there were, in them I hearkened to him; reflection had
often

often its turn; and the love of study, and the desire of knowledge, have never quite abandoned me. I am not therefore entirely unprepared for the life I will lead; and it is not without reason that I promise myself more satisfaction in the latter part of it, than I ever knew in the former."

Upon the death of his father in 1742, his lordship returned to England, and settled at Battersea, the ancient seat of his family; where he passed the remainder of his days in retirement; resolving, since he could not obtain his seat again in the house of peers, never more to meddle in public affairs.

After the conclusion of the late inauspicious war, in 1748, the measures taken in the administration seem not to have been repugnant to his notions of political prudence for that juncture; and what these were, is seen, in part, in some reflections written by him in 1749, On the Present State of the Nation, principally with Regard to her Taxes and Debts, and on the Causes and Consequences of them.

This undertaking was left unfinished, nor did he survive it long. He had often wished to breathe his last at Battersea; an event which happened on the 15th of November 1751, on the verge of fourscore years of age.

His remains were interred with those of his ancestors, in that church; where there is a marble monument erected to his memory, with this inscription:

Here lies

HENRY ST. JOHN;

In the reign of Queen Anne

Secretary of War, Secretary of State

And Viscount BOLINGBROKE.

In the days of King George I.

And King George II.

Something

Something more and better,
 His attachment to Queen Anne
 Exposed him to a long and severe persecution,
 He bore it with firmness of mind,
 The enemy of no national party,
 The friend of no faction,
 Distinguished under the cloud of a proscription;
 Which had not been entirely taken off,
 By zeal to maintain the liberty
 And to restore the ancient prosperity
 Of Great Britain.

He survived all his brothers; so that the estate and honour descended to his nephew, the present Lord viscount Bolingbroke and St. John, whom he constituted likewise his testamentary-heir: and, as his lady died many years before him, so the disputes in law about her fortune happening to be finally determined about the time of his decease, by that lucky event, the nephew reaped the whole benefit of his uncle's kindness immediately.

His lordship left the care and advantage of his manuscripts to Mr. Mallet, who published three tracts, in one volume 8vo, in 1753, and four volumes more the following year; in which the trustee, it seems, consulted his own profit, more than his noble benefactor's fame; as appears from a presentment of the grand jury of Westminster, made on the sixteenth of October the same year, 1754, of these posthumous works in four volumes, "as tending, in the general scope of several pieces therein contained, as well as many particular expressions which had been laid before them, to the subversion of religion, government, and morality; and being also against his majesty's peace."

Indeed it is almost needless to tell the world now, that, in respect to his religion, he was undoubtedly

doubtedly a professed deist, but ignorance and malice carried the charge farther, and the theological dissertations in his posthumous works have been branded as atheistical, without the least shadow of reason or evidence. In a word, with all his passions, and with all his faults, he will perhaps, says the writer of his life, "be acknowledged, by posterity in general, as I think he is by the majority of the present age, to have been, in many respects, one of the most extraordinary persons who adorned it."

* * *Authorities.* Memoirs of the life of lord Bolingbroke prefixed to his works. Rapin's Hist. of England, vol. 24. 8vo. edit. Annals of Geo. I. vol. 1. and 2.

The LIFE of

MAJOR GENERAL

JAMES WOLFÉ.

[A. D. 1726, to 1759.]

NO æra of the British history exhibits brighter examples of military glory, than that in which the immortal Wolfe stood forth to rival the greatest characters of antiquity. In his time, an animated love of their country, and an ardent zeal in its service, prevailed amongst the land and sea officers, which communicated the influence of example to the private men, and, under providence, produced such

such a series of rapid and signal successes as can scarce be paralleled in the annals of any nation.

The lustre they reflected on the sovereign, on the able minister who had the chief management of public affairs, and on the whole nation, is still fresh in the memories of most of our countrymen.

May similar circumstances in future times call forth the exertions of equal wisdom in the cabinet, and of as signal valour in the field, and on the ocean! but till this happens, let us be permitted, without meaning to give offence to the powers in being, to recommend to the rising generation an attentive perusal of the great events which distinguish the year 1759, in our history, and the three following years; when Great Britain, like the fabled phoenix, seemed to acquire new life and vigour from the ashes of her beloved hero, and soared to the summit of human grandeur.

Inclination as well as duty now lead the editor to lay before his readers the few, but glorious, incidents of the short life of a gallant young officer, who had a principal share in forming the national glory of this æra.

James Wolfe was the son of lieutenant general Edward Wolfe, an officer of distinguished worth, who served under the duke of Marlborough, and was very active under general Wightman, in suppressing the rebellion of 1715, in Scotland. His renowned son, was born at Westerham, in the county of Kent, as it appears by his baptismal register, bearing date, the 11th of January 1726. It is to be lamented that we have no memoirs of his juvenile years; for in the first dawnings of reason, men of superior genius often discover unerring indications of uncommon abilities; perhaps in his very sports and pastimes, we might have traced that amazing fortitude, indefatigable assiduity, cool judgment

ment and alacrity, for which he was afterwards so justly famed: to cradle presages, and the wonderful stories of fond mothers, and doating nurses, we have already shewn our aversion, in the life of Cromwell, but we think there is another extreme into which parents and guardians are too apt to fall, which is, a want of attention to the first discoveries in boys, of a predilection for particular professions or employments in life. Owing to this deficiency in some, and the fixed determination in others, to force youth into that class of life for which they have destined them, without any solicitude about the probability of their making a figure in it, we daily see men of noble and wealthy families, and others in the inferior classes of society, most miserably misplaced both in church and state.

It is most probable that general Wolfe's father was not one of those undiscerning or prejudiced parents, but that he discovered in his son an early inclination for the military profession, for he must have been educated for the army almost from his infancy, since honourable mention is made of his personal bravery at the battle of La-feldt, in Austrian Flanders, fought in the year 1747, when he was only in the twentieth year of his age. We are not told what rank he held at that time; but his royal highness, the late duke of Cumberland, the commander in chief, highly extolled his behaviour, and took every opportunity to reward him by promotion. The gradations of his rise are not ascertained, we are only informed, that during the whole war, he continued improving his military talents, that he was present at every engagement, and never passed undistinguished. His promotion, therefore, must have been as rapid as his merit was great, for we find him holding the rank of lieutenant colonel of Kingsley's regiment soon after the peace of Aix
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la Chapelle in 1748. In this station, during the peace, he continually cultivated the art of war, and introduced the most exact discipline, and regular behaviour into his corps, without exercising any severity; the love his soldiers bore him, being manifested in their readiness to obey his orders.

In the year 1754, a fresh rupture with France seemed inevitable, from the evasive answers given by that court to the repeated remonstrances made by the British ambassador, against the depredations and encroachments made by their subjects at the back of the British settlements, along the banks of the river Ohio, in North America; they even went so far as to build forts within two hundred and twenty-five miles of Philadelphia. Hostilities commenced on both sides, in consequence of this violation of the treaty of peace, but war was not formally declared till 1756; and for a short time, nothing but disappointments and losses attended the British arms, till the great Mr. Pitt, who has since lost that name, and with it his reputation, in the inglorious title of earl of Chatham, being firmly seated at the head of the administration, gave one of the most striking proofs of his superior abilities for conducting an extensive war, by seeking for and employing in the land and sea-service, men of the most enterprising and active genius, who had signalized themselves, upon important occasions, in a manner far beyond what could be expected, either from their years or experience. Of this number was colonel Wolfe, who was raised by the minister to the rank of brigadier-general, and sent out under major-general Amherst, upon the grand expedition against Louisbourg, the capital of the island of Cape Breton. At the siege of this important place, he greatly raised his military reputation; for he was the first general officer who landed the left-division
of

of the army, amidst the strong and continued fire of the enemy from their batteries on the shore; and, notwithstanding an impetuous surf, which overset some of the boats, he calmly gave orders to be rowed to the shore, where he exhibited uncommon valour and activity, by making good his descent, and maintaining his post, till he had covered the debarkation of the middle and the right divisions of the land forces, commanded by brigadiers Whitmore and Lawrence. He then marched with a strong detachment round the north-east part of the harbour, and took possession of the Light-house point, where he erected several batteries against the ships and the island-fortification; by which dexterous manœuvre, the success of the whole enterprize was in a great measure secured. The regular approaches to the town were now conducted by the engineers, under the immediate command and inspection of general Amherst; but still the indefatigable Wolfe, with his detached party, raised several batteries, wherever he found a proper situation for annoying the enemy; and these did great execution both within the town and upon the shipping in the harbour. On the 27th day of July 1758, Louisbourg surrendered; and captain Amherst, brother to the general, was dispatched in a vessel to carry the joyful news to England; he also carried with him eleven pair of colours taken at the siege, which were carried in great triumph, from the palace at Kensington to St. Paul's.

The principal share brigadier Wolfe was known to have had in this important conquest, induced our able statesman to make choice of him to command a still more capital expedition the ensuing campaign: with this view he was promoted to the rank of major-general.

The plan of operations for the campaign of 1759 in North America, was then concerted in the cabinet; and it was resolved that Wolfe, as soon as the season of the year would admit, should sail up the river St. Laurence, with a body of 8000 men, aided by a considerable squadron of ships from England, to undertake the siege of Quebec; that general Amherst, the commander in chief, should with another army of about 12000 men, reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point, cross the lake Champlain, proceed along the river Richlieu to the banks of St. Laurence, and join general Wolfe in the siege of Quebec. General Amherst however, though he succeeded in reducing Ticonderoga and Crown Point, afterwards found himself under a necessity to support that part of the plan which had been entrusted to brigadier Prideaux, who was to attack Niagara; in which attempt he was killed by the bursting of a cohorn, while he was visiting the trenches. Upon receiving the news of this disaster, and that the French had been reinforced, general Amherst sent a large detachment from his army, under brigadier Gage, to join Sir William Johnson, on whom the command devolved, and to sustain the siege; Niagara surrendered after a victory gained over the French on the 24th of July 1759; and thus two parts in three of the plan of operations was happily executed; but the time necessarily employed in these services made it impossible to comply with the general instructions to assist Wolfe in the siege of Quebec.

The fleets from England destined for that expedition, under the command of the admirals Saunders and Holmes, arrived at Louisbourg in May, and took on board the 8000 land forces, whose operations at Quebec were to be conducted by general Wolfe, as commander in chief, and
under

under him by the brigadiers, Monckton, Townshend, and Murray: thus this arduous undertaking was entrusted, with respect to the land service, to four young officers, in the flower of their age, a very singular instance, not a single veteran having any principal command in the enterprize. The armament sailed up the river St. Lawrence without any interruption, and, about the latter end of June, the troops were landed in two divisions upon the isle of Orleans, a little below Quebec.

General Wolfe, upon landing, published a manifesto, offering every protection and indulgence to the inhabitants, if they would remain neuter; he represented to them, in the strongest terms, the folly of resistance, as the English fleet were masters of the river St. Laurence, so as to intercept all succours from Europe; he informed them, that the cruelties exercised by the French upon British subjects in America might justify the most severe reprisals; but Britons had too much generosity to follow such examples. In a word, he offered to the Canadians, the full enjoyment of their religion, and of their effects, if they would behave peaceably; at the same time, he cautioned them against provoking him to adopt violent measures, by any insults on their part.

This humane declaration, which, to the honour of general Wolfe, was penned in the most persuasive and pathetic style, had no immediate effect, but it was not long before the influence of the priests stimulated them to join the scalping parties of the Indians, and to sally from the woods upon some unguarded stragglers of the British army, whom they slaughtered with the most inhuman circumstances of barbarity. Wolfe now wrote a polite remonstrance to M. de Montcalm, the French general, desiring him to exert his authority over

the French and the Indians, to prevent such enormities, as being contrary to the rules of war, otherwise he must retaliate, by burning their villages and laying waste their plantations. In all probability the French general's authority was not sufficient to curb the ferocity of these savages; so that general Wolfe found it necessary, in order to put a stop to these outrages, to suffer our people to retaliate upon some of their prisoners, which had the desired effect.

M. de Montcalm, though superior in numbers to the English, chose to depend upon the natural strength of the country, rather than run the risk of a general engagement in the field. The city of Quebec was skilfully fortified, defended by a numerous garrison, and plentifully supplied with provisions and ammunition. Montcalm had reinforced the troops of the colony with five regular battalions, formed of the choicest citizens, and had completely disciplined all the Canadians of the neighbourhood capable of bearing arms, with the several tribes of savages. With this army he had taken post in a very advantageous situation along the shore, every accessible part of his camp being deeply intrenched. To undertake the siege of Quebec against such advantages and superior numbers was a deviation from the established rules of war; but no prospect of danger could restrain the ardour of Wolfe, and at this time he entertained strong hopes of being joined by general Amherst.

The necessary works for the security of the hospital, and of the stores on the the island of Orleans being completed in July, the British forces crossed the north channel in boats, and encamped on the banks of the river Montmorenci, which separated them from the left division of the enemy's camp. The general now wrote to Mr. Pitt, describing his
situation,

situation, and assigning most excellent reasons for the choice of his ground: Amongst others, that there was a ford below the falls of Montmorenci, passable for some hours at the ebb of the tide, and he hoped by means of this passage to find an opportunity of engaging Montcalm upon more advantageous terms than directly to attack his intrenchments.

In this position the British army remained a considerable time, expecting news every day from general Amherst, and constantly employed in some enterprize against the enemy, in order to facilitate the final attack on Quebec. Brigadier Monckton with one detachment, dislodged the French from point Levi, on the south shore opposite the city, and colonel Carlton with another, took possession of the western point of the island of Orleans; both these posts they fortified, and erected batteries, which played with such success, that they greatly damaged the upper, and almost demolished the lower town. To balance these advantages, our troops met with frequent repulses, and some losses in reconnoitring the fordable parts of the river.

At length dispositions were made for attacking the enemy's intrenchments, in order to bring on a general engagement; and on the last day of July, it was resolved to storm a redoubt built close to the water's edge, and within gun-shot of the intrenchments; but instead of defending it, which must have produced the effect Wolfe expected, the French abandoned it; and thirteen companies of our grenadiers, animated by the confusion they observed the French were thrown into from the hot fire kept up by the Centurion, while the troops were landing from boats, on the enemy's side of the river, inconsiderately rushed on to the French intrenchments, without waiting for the disembarkation of
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the rest of the army; this ill timed impetuosity, and another accident of some boats getting aground off point Levi, disconcerted the whole plan; for the grenadiers were repulsed, the French had time to recover from their surprise at this bold attempt, and intelligence was now received from some prisoners taken by brigadier Murray in a successful descent at Chambaud, that general Amherst had taken Niagara and Crown Point, but was obliged to employ all his forces against M. de Burlemaque, who was posted with a strong corps at the *isle aux Noix*.

Thus deprived of all hopes of reinforcement from that quarter, general Wolfe returned without molestation to his old camp on the other side of the river; and here disappointment and fatigue threw him into a fever and flux, which reduced him very low. And in this unhappy state of mind and body, he dispatched an express to England, with an account of his proceedings, but written in the style of a desponding man, to which, perhaps the success of the generals in other parts of America contributed: as he might think the same good news would be expected from him by the public at home, who had been accustomed to hear of nothing but his conquests. Yet such was the perspicuity and accuracy of his justification of his measures, that the dispatch was received with applause, though the expedition had not been successful.

As soon as the general recovered a little strength, he went on board the admiral; and these two commanders, with a proper armament, went up the river, passed the town unmolested, and reconnoitred it, in order to judge if an assault was practicable. Their opinion concurred with that of the chief engineer: they all agreed, that such an attack could not be hazarded with any prospect of success; and the next measure taken was, to break up the camp

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at Montmorenci, as no possibility appeared of attacking the enemy above the town. A resolution was now formed to change the plan of operations; and the three brigadiers advised the general to transport the troops in the night, and land them within a league of cape Diamond, below the town, in hopes of ascending the heights of Abraham, which rise abruptly with a steep ascent from the banks of the river, that they might gain possession of the plain at the back of the city, on that side but weakly fortified.

The dangers and difficulties attending the execution of this design were so very great, that none but such an enterprising general, who was well assured of the affections of his troops, would have ventured to propose it to them: the veterans of ancient Rome often mutinied upon less hazardous undertakings; but Wolfe readily assented to the daring project of his brave associates in the war, and animated his troops by leading them on in person, enfeebled as he was by his distemper. The necessary preparations being made, and the time fixed for this most astonishing attempt, admiral Holmes, with a view of deceiving the enemy, moved with his squadron higher up the river than the old camp, and this had the desired effect, for his motions were watched till night came on, by a detachment of the French, who lined that part of the shore, under the command of M. de Bouganville. But in the night, the admiral, pursuant to his instructions, fell down the river to cover the landing of the troops. About one in the morning of the 12th of September, the first embarkation, consisting of four complete regiments, the light infantry, commanded by colonel Howe, a detachment of highlanders, and the American grenadiers fell gently down the river in flat bottom boats, under the conduct of the brigadiers

Monckton and Murray; but general Wolfe accompanied them, and was among the first who landed; no accident happened, except their over shooting the intended place of landing, owing to the rapidity of the tide.

As these troops landed, the boats were sent back for the second embarkation, which was superintended by brigadier Townsend. In the mean time, colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the highlanders, ascended the woody precipices with admirable courage and activity; and dislodged a captain's guard, who defended a small intrenched narrow path, by which alone the other forces could reach the summit. They then mounted without further molestation; and general Wolfe drew them up in order of battle as they arrived.

The marquis de Montcalm was thunderstruck at the intelligence, that the English had gained the heights of Abraham; and knowing the weakness of the city on that side, he was at no loss to determine that a general engagement was unavoidable. Advancing therefore, with his whole force in such order of battle as shewed a design to flank the English forces on the left, brigadier Townshend with the regiment of Amherst was sent to prevent it, by forming his corps *en potence*, presenting a double front to the enemy. The French were most advantageously posted, with bushes and corn fields in their front, lined with 1500 of their best marksmen, who began the action with an irregular galling fire, and this they kept up till it proved fatal to many of our brave officers, singled out by them for destruction.

At about nine in the morning, the enemy advanced to the charge with great order and resolution, but their fire was irregular and ineffectual. On the contrary, the British forces reserved their shot until the French had approached within forty yards of their
line:

line: then they poured in a terrible discharge, and continued the fire with the greatest activity and success. The gallant general Wolfe was stationed on the right, at the head of Bragg's regiment and the Louisbourg grenadiers, the post of honour, for here the attack was most warm. As he stood dauntless and conspicuous in the front of the line, he had been aimed at by the enemy's marksmen, and received a shot in the wrist; but neither pain nor danger had any effect to make him retire from his station. Having wrapped an handkerchief round his wrist, he continued giving his orders without emotion, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed, when another ball, most probably from the same marksman, pierced the breast of this intrepid hero, who fell in the arms of victory, just as the enemy gave way; and at the very instant when every separate regiment of the British army seemed to exert itself for the honour of its own corps.

The wounded general was carried off to a small distance in the rear, where roused from fainting fits, in the agonies of death, by the loud cry of *they run! they run!* he with great eagerness enquired, who run? and being told the French, and that they were defeated, he added, in a faltering voice, then I thank God, I die contented! and almost instantly expired.

Much about the same time, brigadier-general Monckton, the second in command, was dangerously wounded at the head of the regiment of Lascelles, and then the command devolved on brigadier-general Townshend, who had the honour of completing the victory.

The particulars of this glorious battle are foreign to the plan of this work; and the editor carefully avoids entering into a detail, from a consciousness

of his own inability to give an accurate account, in all its forms, for want of that professional knowledge, without which, all relations of military operations must be not only defective, but disgusting to judicious readers, and more especially so, in this case, to the living officers, who had a share in the honour of the day, and must regret any accidental misrepresentation, arising from ignorance of the subject.

Suffice it then to say, that never was a battle fought which did more honour to the officers, and even to the private men on both sides, than this. The highest encomiums were bestowed on, and justly merited by the marquis de Montcalm, the French general, who was mortally wounded, and who distinguished himself in his last moments, by an affectionate regard for his countrymen, in writing a letter to general Townshend, to recommend the French prisoners "to that generous humanity, by which the British nation has been always distinguished:" he died in Quebec a few days after the battle. His second in command was left wounded on the field, and was conveyed from thence on board an English ship, where he expired the next day.

The death of Montcalm, which was an irreparable loss to France, in America, threw the Canadians into the utmost consternation; confusion prevailed in the councils held at Quebec, and seeing themselves invested by the British fleet, which, after the victory, sailed up in a disposition to attack the lower town, while the upper should be assaulted by general Townshend; they gave up all for lost, and sent out a flag of truce, with proposals of capitulation, which were judiciously accepted by general Townshend and admiral Saunders, and signed early the next morning. A measure which
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does the greatest honour to their judgment; for the place was not yet completely invested, the enemy were on the point of receiving a strong reinforcement from Montreal, and M. de Bouganville, at the head of 800 fresh men, with a convoy of provisions, was almost at the gates of the town on the day of its surrender. A new army was likewise assembling in the neighbourhood, with which the city continued to have a free communication on one side after the battle; and the British troops in a little time, the season being far advanced, must have been obliged to desist from their operations by the severity of the weather, and even to have retired with their fleet before the approach of winter, when the river St. Laurence is constantly frozen up.

It is difficult to describe the various emotions with which the people were affected, when the news of this astonishing success in Canada arrived in England. The melancholy dispatch which general Wolfe had sent off, after his disappointment at the falls of Montmorenci, owing to contrary winds, was not received, or at least not made known to the public, till two days before the ship arrived which had been dispatched with the joyful news of the victory, and the surrender of Quebec, to which was tacked the mournful sequel of the death of the Conqueror of Canada.

A mixture of pity and affliction attended the national triumph upon this occasion, and was strongly expressed in the congratulatory addresses, presented by all the corporate bodies and public societies of the three kingdoms, to his late majesty.

A day of solemn thanksgiving was appointed throughout all the dominions of Great Britain; and, when the parliament assembled, Mr. Pitt, in the house of commons, with that energy of elo-

quence, peculiar to himself, when he was in the zenith of his glory, expatiated upon the successes of the campaign, and dwelt on the transcendent merit of the deceased general in such a pathetic strain, as not only drew tears from himself, but from most who heard him : nor did he fail in paying due honour to the courage and conduct of the admirals, and the land officers, and to the bravery of the soldiers, and the seamen, who assisted in the conquest of Quebec.

He then made a motion, to present an address, desiring his majesty to order a monument to be erected in Westminster-abbey, to the memory of major-general Wolfe, to which the house agreed unanimously. At the same time, they passed another resolution ; that the thanks of the house should be given to the surviving generals and admirals, employed in the glorious and successful expedition to Quebec.

Nothing now remained, but to give orders that all military honours should be paid to the remains of our illustrious general, expected to arrive in England, for interment. The corpse was brought home in his majesty's ship the Royal William, to Portsmouth, and on Sunday the 17th of November, it was landed in the following solemn order :

At eight o'clock in the morning, two signal guns were fired, to give notice to the garrison of the removal : the body was then lowered out of the ship into a 12 oar barge, which was towed along by two 12 oar barges, and attended to the bottom of the point by 12 others, full manned, with officers, and seamen, who observed a melancholy silence during this awful procession : minute guns were fired from the ships at Spithead, from the time the body was taken from the ship to its being landed at the point, which took up an hour. The regiment

ment of invalids was ordered under arms before eight, and being joined by a company of the train of artillery in the garrison, marched from the parade to the bottom of the point, to receive the body. At a little after nine, it was landed, and put into a travelling hearse, attended by a mourning coach, both sent from London, and proceeded through the garrison. The colours on the forts were struck half flag staff: the bells were muffled, and tolled in solemn concert with the dead march, which was beat: minute-guns were fired on the platform from the entrance of the corpse to the whole length of the procession: the company of the train led the van, with their arms reversed, and the regiment of invalids followed the hearse, their arms reversed. They conducted the body to the land-port gates, where the train opened to the right and left, and the hearse proceeded, through the line they formed, on its way to London. Many thousands of people were assembled upon this occasion, who behaved with the greatest decency and decorum. On the 20th at night, the body was privately deposited in the family vault, in the church at Greenwich.

His private character was not less exalted than his public, and equally exemplary to the British officers.

With an unusual liveliness, almost to impetuosity of temper, he was not subject to passion: with the greatest independency of spirit, he was free from pride. Generous, almost to profusion; he contemned every little art for the acquisition of wealth, whilst he searched after objects for his charity and beneficence: the deserving soldier never went unrewarded, and the needy inferior officer often tasted of his bounty. Constant and discerning in his attachments: manly and unreserved, yet gentle, kind, and conciliating in his manners: he enjoyed a large

share of the friendship, and almost the universal good will of mankind; and, to crown all, sincerity and candour, a true sense of honour, justice and public liberty, seemed the inherent principles of his nature, and were the uniform rules of his conduct.

His untimely fate called forth the exertions of emulative genius amongst our artists: it has been the historical subject of the sculptor, the painter, and the engraver, by which means the names of Wilton, West, and Woollet, will be transmitted to posterity, with the affecting story of the immortal Wolfe.

The LIFE of
L O R D A N S O N .

[A. D. —, to 1762.]

GEORGE ANSON, whose signal merit as a naval officer raised him to the dignity of a peer of Great Britain, was the second, and youngest son of William Anson, Esq; of Shuckborough (who died in 1720) by Elizabeth, sister to the countess of Macclesfield, and aunt to the late earl.

We have no account of the exact time of his birth, nor yet of his infant years, we only know that he very early devoted himself to the sea service, and was made captain of the Weazle sloop in 1722; and, the year following, of the Scarborough man of war. On the breaking out of the Spanish war in 1740, he was recommended to his late majesty
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for the command of a Squadron destined to annoy the enemy in the South Seas; and, by an unfréquented navigation, to attack them with vigour in their remotest settlements. A design which, had it not met with unaccountable delays, would have amply answered the intention; and might have given, perhaps, an irretrievable blow to the Spanish American power.

Mr. Anson sailed from St. Helens on the 18th of September 1740, in the *Centurion*, of sixty guns, with the *Gloucester* and *Severn*, of fifty each, the *Pearl* of forty, the *Wager* storeship, and the *Tryal* sloop. His departure having been retarded some months beyond the proper season, he did not arrive in the latitude of Cape Horn till about the middle of the vernal equinox, and in such tempestuous weather, that it was with much difficulty that his own ship, with the *Gloucester* and the sloop, could double that dangerous cape; and his strength was considerably diminished, by the putting back of the *Severn* and *Pearl*, and the loss of the *Wager* storeship. Yet notwithstanding this disappointment, and the havock that the scurvy had made among the ships that were left, he arrived at the fertile, though uninhabited island of Juan Fernandez.

Having, at this island, repaired his damages and refreshed his men, with the above inconsiderable armament, he kept, for eight months, the whole coast of Peru and Mexico in continual alarm, made several prizes; took and plundered the town of Peyta, and, by his humane behaviour to his prisoners, impressed on their minds a lasting idea of British generosity.

At length, with the *Centurion* only (the other two ships having been condemned) he traversed the vast extent of the Pacific Ocean, a three months voyage; in the course of which, his numbers were
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so much farther reduced by sickness, that it was with the utmost difficulty he reached the island of Tinian, one of the Ladrões; a place which, from the following luxurious description these voyagers have given of it, seems truly to be a terrestrial paradise.

“ This island lies in the latitude of 15. 8. North, and longitude from Acapulco 114. 50. W. Its length is about twelve miles, and its breadth about half as much; it extending from the S. S. W. to the N. N. E.

“ The soil is every where dry and healthy, and somewhat sandy, which being less disposed than other soils to a rank and over-luxuriant vegetation, occasions the meadows and the bottoms of the woods to be much neater and smoother than is customary in hot climates. The land rises, by an easy slope, from the very beach, where we watered, to the middle of the island; though the general course of its ascent is often interrupted and traversed by gentle descents and vallies; and the inequalities that are formed by the different combinations of these gradual swellings of the ground, are most beautifully diversified by large lawns, which are covered with a very fine tres-foil, intermixed with a variety of flowers, and are skirted by woods of tall and well-spread trees, most of them celebrated either for their aspect or their fruit.

“ The turf of the lawns is quite clean and even, and the bottoms of the woods, in many places, clear of all bushes and underwoods; and the woods themselves usually terminate on the lawns with a regular outline, not broken, nor confused with straggling trees, but appearing as uniform as if laid out by art. Hence arise a great variety of the most elegant and entertaining prospects, formed by the mixture of these woods and lawns, and their various intersections

intersections with each other, as they spread themselves differently through the vallies, and over the slopes and declivities with which the place abounds.

“ The fortunate animals too, which, for the greatest part of the year, are the sole lords of this happy soil, partake, in some measure, of the romantic cast of the island, and are no small addition to its wonderful scenery: for the cattle, of which it is not uncommon to see herds of some thousands feeding together in a large meadow, are certainly the most remarkable in the world; for they are all of them milk-white, except their ears, which are generally black; and, though there are no inhabitants here, yet the clamour and frequent parading of domestic poultry, which range the woods in great numbers, perpetually excite the ideas of the neighbourhood of farms and villages, and greatly contribute to the beauty and cheerfulness of the place.

“ The cattle on the island we computed were at least ten thousand; and we had no difficulty in getting near them, as they were not shy of us. Our first method of killing them was shooting them; but at last, when, by accidents, we were obliged to husband our ammunition, our men ran them down with ease. Their flesh was extremely well tasted, and was believed by us to be much more easily digested than any we had ever met with.

“ The fowls too were exceeding good, and were likewise run down with little trouble; for they could scarce fly further than an hundred yards at a flight, and even that fatigued them so much, that they could not readily rise again; so that, aided by the openness of the woods, we could at all times furnish ourselves with whatever number we wanted.

“ Besides the cattle and poultry, we found here abundance of wild hogs. These were most excellent food; but, as they were a very fierce animal, we were obliged

obliged either to shoot them, or to hunt them with large dogs, which we found upon the place at our landing, and which belonged to a detachment that was then upon the island, amassing provisions for the garrison of Guam.

“ As these dogs had been purposely trained to the killing of the wild hogs, they followed us very readily, and hunted for us: but, though they were a large bold breed, the hogs fought with so much fury, that they frequently destroyed them; so that we, by degrees, lost the greatest part of them.

“ But this place was not only extremely grateful to us, from the plenty and excellency of its fresh provisions, but was as much, perhaps, to be admired for its fruits and vegetable productions, which were most fortunately adapted to the cure of the sea-scurvy, which had so terribly reduced us; for in the woods there were inconceivable quantities of cocoa nuts, with the cabbages growing on the same tree. There were, besides, guavaes, limes, sweet and sour oranges, and a kind of fruit peculiar to these islands, called by the Indians Rima, but by us the Bread-Fruit; for it was constantly eaten by us during our stay upon the island instead of bread; and so universally preferred to it, that no ship's bread was expended during that whole interval.

“ It grew upon a tree which was somewhat lofty, and which, towards the top, divides into large and spreading branches. The leaves of this tree are of a remarkable deep green, are notched about the edges, and are generally from a foot to eighteen inches in length. The fruit itself grows indifferently on all parts of the branches; it is in shape rather elliptical than round, is covered with a rough rind, and is usually seven or eight inches long; each of them grows singly and not in clusters.

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“ This fruit is fittest to be used when it is full grown, but is still green; in which state its taste has some distant resemblance to that of an artichoke bottom, and its texture is not very different, for it is soft and spongy. As it ripens it grows softer and of a yellow colour, and then contracts a luscious taste, and an agreeable smell, not unlike that of a ripe peach; but then it is esteemed unwholesome, and is said to produce fluxes.

“ Besides the fruits already enumerated, there were many other vegetables extremely conducive to the cure of the malady we had long laboured under; such as water-melons, dandelion, creeping purslain, mint, scurvy-grass, and sorrel; all which, together with the fresh meats of the place, we devoured with great eagerness, prompted thereto by the strong inclination which nature never fails of exciting in scorbutic disorders for these powerful specifics.

“ It will easily be conceived, from what already hath been said, that our cheer upon this island was in some degree luxurious, but I have not yet recited all the varieties of provision which we here indulged in. Indeed we thought it prudent totally to abstain from fish, the few we caught at our first arrival having surfeited those who eat of them; but, considering how much we had been inured to that species of food, we did not regard this circumstance as a disadvantage, especially as the defect was so amply supplied by the beef, pork, and fowls already mentioned, and by great quantity of wild fowl; for I must observe, that near the centre of the island there were two considerable pieces of fresh water, which abounded with duck, teal, and curlew; not to mention the whistling-plover, which we found there in prodigious plenty.

“ And now, perhaps, it may be wondered at, that an island, so excellently furnished with the conveniencies

veniencies of life, and so well adapted, not only to the subsistence, but likewise to the enjoyment of mankind, should be entirely destitute of inhabitants, especially as it is in the neighbourhood of other islands, which, in some measure, depend upon this for support.

“ To obviate this difficulty, I must observe, that it is not fifty years since the island was depopulated. The Indians we had in our custody assured us, that formerly the three islands of Tinian, Rota, and Guam, were all full of inhabitants; and, that Tinian alone contained thirty thousand souls: but a sickness raging amongst these islands, which destroyed multitudes of the people, the Spaniards, to recruit their numbers at Guam, which were greatly diminished by this mortality, ordered all the inhabitants of Tinian thither, where, languishing for their former habitations, and their customary method of life, the greatest part of them, in a few years, died of grief. Indeed, independent of that attachment which all mankind have ever shown to the places of their birth and bringing up, it should seem, from what has been already said, that there were few countries more worthy to be regretted than this of Tinian.

These poor Indians might reasonably have expected, at the great distance from Spain where they were placed, to have escaped the violence and cruelty of that haughty nation, so fatal to a large proportion of the human race: but it seems their remote situation could not protect them from sharing in the common destruction of the western world, all the advantage they received from their distance being only to perish a century or two later.

Having mentioned the numerous conveniencies of this place, I must now observe, that all these advantages were greatly enhanced by the healthiness

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of its climate, by the almost constant breezes which prevail there, and by the frequent showers which fall, and which, though of a very short and almost momentary duration, are extremely grateful and refreshing, and are, perhaps, one cause of the salubrity of the air, and of the extraordinary influence it was observed to have upon us, in increasing and invigorating our appetites and digestion. This was so remarkable, that those among our officers, who were at all other times spare and temperate eaters, who, besides a slight breakfast, made but one moderate repast a day, were here, in appearance, transformed into gluttons; for, instead of one reasonable flesh-meal, they were now scarce satisfied with three, and each of them so prodigious in quantity, as would at another time have produced a fever or a surfeit: and yet our digestion so well corresponded with the keenness of our appetites, that we were neither disordered or even loaded by this repletion; for, after having, according to the custom of the island, made a large beef-breakfast, it was not long before we began to consider the approach of dinner as a very desirable though somewhat tardy incident."

At the south-west end of this delightful island, the only secure place for ships of burthen to lie in, the Centurion anchored in twenty; and twenty-two fathom water, opposite to a sandy bay, and about a mile and a half distant from the shore.

But here the commodore and most of his people were in great danger of being left for ever, or of being imprisoned or massacred by the neighbouring Spaniards, the Centurion being driven from her anchors, one night, in a violent storm, and, after nineteen days absence, being brought back with difficulty, by the few hands that were left on board.

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It was the middle of the month of October 1742, before the commodore was in a condition to put to sea again, and on the 12th of November, after a great variety of adventures, too numerous to be inserted here, he arrived at Macao, which is a Portuguese settlement, situated in an island at the entrance of the river of Canton, but entirely under the government of the Chinese. Here Mr. Anson shewed himself worthy of his command, by maintaining the honour of his sovereign and of the British flag, in boldly refusing to pay the port duties exacted by the emperor of China from all foreign ships. He insisted no king's ship ought to pay them, and his coolness and intrepidity confounded the Chinese, so that the viceroy gave up the point; and then having completely refitted his ship (as was generally supposed, for an European voyage), he steered back as far as the Philippine islands, with a view of meeting the Acapulco ship; a plan as wisely laid, as it was happily executed.

On the last day of May 1743, the Centurion arrived off cape *Espiritu Santo*, on the island of Samal, in the direct tract by which the Manilla ships return from Acapulco. On the 20th of June, one of the wished for ships was descried; she was called the *Nuestra Senhora de Cabadonga*, she mounted 40 guns; and the treasure in silver specie and ingots, with the other effects on board, amounted to 313000*l.* sterling. The Centurion, though she mounted 60 guns, had but 227 men on board; and the Spaniard was full manned. An engagement ensued, in which the bravery and skill of the English prevailed against superiority of numbers: after having 67 men killed and 84 wounded, the commander of the galleon struck his colours, and surrendered them himself into commodore Anson's hands, who lost only two men, and had only one lieutenant and 16 private

seamen wounded. He returned with his rich prize to Canton, where he put the treasure on board the *Centurion*, sold the Spanish hulk, and set sail for England.

On his arrival at Spithead, in June 1744, after near four years absence, he found that the hand of Providence seemed still to protect him, having sailed, in a fog, through the midst of a French fleet, then cruising in the channel. In short, through the whole of this remarkable voyage, he experienced the truth of that saying of Teucer, which he afterwards chose for his motto, "*Nil est desperandum*."

Soon after his return he was appointed rear admiral of the blue, and one of the lords of the admiralty. In April 1745 he was made rear admiral of the white; and, in July 1746, vice admiral of the blue. He was also chosen member of parliament for Heydon in Yorkshire. That winter he commanded the channel squadron, and had not the duke d'Anville's fleet, returning with disgrace from North America, been accidentally apprized of his station, his long and tempestuous cruize would then have been attended with his usual success. However, in the ensuing summer, he was once more crowned with wealth and conquest. Being then on board the *Prince George*, of ninety guns, in company with rear admiral Warren, and twelve ships more, cruising off Cape Finisterre; on the third of May, 1747, they intercepted a powerful fleet, bound from France to the east and west Indies; and, after a sharp engagement, in which the French behaved with uncommon bravery, but were obliged to yield to superiority of numbers, our admirals took the whole fleet, consisting of six men of war, and four East Indiamen. The speech of the French admiral, M. de la Jonquiere, on presenting his sword to the conqueror, deserves to be recorded: "*Monsieur,*
vous

vous avez vaincu l'Invincible, et la Gloire vous suit," pointing to the two ships so named.

For these repeated services, the late king rewarded him with a peerage, on the 13th of June, by the title of lord Anson, baron of Soberton in Hants. On the 15th of July, in the same year, he was appointed vice-admiral of the red; and, on the death of Sir John Norris, he was made vice-admiral of England.

In April 1748, his lordship married the honourable Miss Yorke (eldest daughter of the late earl of Hardwicke, then lord high chancellor) who died in 1760, without issue.

In May 1748, he was appointed admiral of the blue; in which year he commanded the Squadron that convoyed the late king to and from Holland, and from this time, as long as he lived, he constantly attended his majesty on his going abroad, and on his return to England.

In June 1751, his lordship was appointed first lord of the admiralty, in which post he continued (with a very short intermission) till his death.

In 1752 he was appointed one of the lords justices, during the absence of the king, and again in 1754. That year, on the rupture with France, so active and spirited were his measures, that a fleet, superior to the enemy, was equipped and manned with amazing expedition.

In 1758, being then admiral of the white, having hoisted his flag on board the royal George, of one hundred guns, he sailed from Spithead on the 1st of June, with a formidable fleet, Sir Edward Hawke commanding under him; and, by cruizing continually before Brest, he covered the descents that were made that summer at St. Maloes, Cherbourg, &c. After this, he was appointed admiral and commander in chief of his majesty's fleets.

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The last service his lordship performed at sea was the convoying to England our present queen; for which purpose he sailed from Harwich in the Charlotte yacht, on the 7th of August 1761; and that day month, after a long and tempestuous voyage, landed the princess at the same place.

At length, having been some time in a languishing state of health, he was advised to the Bath waters, from which he was thought to have received great benefit on former occasions; there he remained during the winter 1761, and part of the spring of 1762; but finding himself greatly exhausted, and unable to bear the fatigue of company, he retired to his seat at Moor Park, in Hertfordshire, where he died suddenly on the 6th of June, upon his return from walking in his garden.

His lordship was remarkably distinguished for resolution, perseverance, and a calm, even, temper, most excellent qualifications for a commander in chief. But at home, he lessened his great reputation, by a foolish attachment to gaming; and having seen little of the polite world, he easily became the dupe of sharpers in high life, who eased him of a considerable share of his wealth; and the ridicule he incurred upon these occasions, it is thought affected his spirits, and contributed not a little to bring on that decline which shortened his days.

The account of lord Anson's voyage round the world, is a work too well known to require more than barely to mention, that the first publication from journals and other documents given by his lordship to the editor, whose compilation he revised before it went to press, was received with unusual avidity by the public; and no less than four large impressions were sold within the year. It was likewise translated into most of the modern languages;

and it is at present a proper companion to Hawksworth's, and the other modern voyages to the same quarter of the globe.

The LIFE of
PHILIP YORKE,
 Earl of **HARDWICKE.**

Lord Chancellor of ENGLAND.

[A. D. 1691, to 1764.]

THIS able lawyer and statesman, who had the misfortune not to be so well esteemed in the latter as in the first capacity, was born at London, in the year 1691; his family, we are told, held a genteel rank in life, but were not opulent: this is all the account we have of them.

Mr. Yorke was designed for an attorney, and with that view served his clerkship with a very eminent gentleman of that profession; but his genius not permitting him to rest contented with the mere drudgery of the law, he entered himself of the Society of Lincoln's-Inn, and commenced barrister; it is not ascertained at what time he was called to the bar, but it is well known, that in a very few years, and while he was a very young man, he acquired very great reputation as a pleader; and in the year 1720, his great merit raised him to the office of solicitor-general to his late majesty. In 1723, he was promoted to that of attorney-general; and

and in this station, which confers a privilege of being the first pleader in every cause that officer is engaged in, he displayed such amazing powers of eloquence, and such a masterly knowledge of the laws of England, that he was pronounced to be one of the greatest lawyers that had appeared at the English bar in the present century. With such abilities, it is no wonder his promotion should be rapid. In 1733, being then only in the 42d year of his age, he was constituted chief-justice of the court of king's-bench; and in 1737, he attained the highest honours of the law, being made lord high-chancellor of England, and, of course, speaker of the house of lords. At the same time, he was made a peer of the realm, by the title of baron Hardwicke.

No man in the kingdom was so clearly intitled to this dignity as Mr. Yorke, from his theoretical knowledge, and his extensive practice in the courts of law and equity; and therefore his advancement was considered, by the gentlemen of the profession, as a great acquisition to the court over which he was appointed to preside.

In this high station, his assiduity, his steady even temper, his great sagacity, and his impartial administration of justice, were equally conspicuous and admired. The year 1746 furnished him with a fresh opportunity of exercising the powers of eloquence. He was constituted lord-high-steward of England for the trial of the rebel lords; and his speech delivered upon passing sentence against lord Lovat, is reckoned one of the finest specimens of modern oratory, extant in the English language. In 1749, he was elected high-steward of the university of Cambridge.

His lordship held the seals till the year 1756, when he found himself obliged to resign, upon

Mr. Pitt's coming into administration, that able statesman having full intelligence that the chancellor had too great an influence in the cabinet; and even his friends always confessed, that he was but a weak politician, too apt to be swayed by partial views and interests; especially in soliciting great employments under the government for persons but ill qualified to execute them, to which he paid no regard, provided their promotion could, in any respect, strengthen his own interest, or advance the fortune of his family. His lordship, before he retired, obtained an accession of dignity, being created earl of Hardwicke in 1754; he had the satisfaction of seeing all his children most successfully established in life; and in the year 1764, he paid the debt of nature, leaving the character of a most eloquent speaker, a most able lawyer, and a good moral man. On his death-bed he declared, that he never wronged any man to increase his fortune; nor acquired a single acre of land which he could not in his last moments think upon with tranquillity. But the highest encomium on his great abilities and integrity in the seat of equity is, that though he held the seals near twenty years, during which time many appeals from his decrees were carried up to the bar of the house of lords, not one of them was reversed.

In his political capacity, the earl of Hardwicke was unfortunate and unpopular, his eagerness to provide for his own family, to which he was stimulated by the selfish disposition of his lady, made him a continual petitioner to the throne, for partial favours, instead of employing his interest with the king for patriotic and benevolent purposes. His late majesty was so sensible of this, that a short time before he went out of office, having asked for some place for one of his distant relations, he gave him

him this severe check, " My lord, you have been a frequent solicitor ; but I have observed, that it has always been for some one of your family, or within the circle of your relations."

His political principles favoured aristocracy too much, and tended to the oppression of the commons. On this ground he opposed the militia-bill, representing the great danger that might arise from putting arms into the hands of the people, and disciplining them for war, by which they would be ripe for civil commotions ; and, upon some favourable occasion, when they thought themselves injured by government, might attempt to establish a democracy, on the subversion of monarchy and the house of peers. And when he found he could not prevent the bill passing into a law, he introduced several clauses, which threw the establishment more into the hands of the crown than it was intended by the framers of the bill ; yet, even with these amendments, he continued to discountenance it to the last ; for in his own county, he so contrived matters, that the militia was neither embodied, nor commuted for in money, notwithstanding the alternative clause for that purpose. With the same views, he exerted his abilities and influence in the house of peers, to throw out a new habeas corpus act, which had passed through the lower house *namine contradicente*, and was framed to increase and secure this great privilege to the people, by preventing some shameful evasions of the old act, which had been put in practice by the inferior officers of criminal and civil justice, aided by dishonest lawyers.

But of all the unpopular measures advised in the cabinet by this narrow-minded politician, none gave so much disgust, or lessened his reputation so much, as the marriage-act : some prudential regulations were indeed wanting, to prevent the shame-

ful clandestine marriages of minors; and a short bill for this purpose was drawn up, and laid before him by the judges; but to this he objected, without the least shadow of reason, probably, because it would wound the pride of the peers too much to oblige all persons, without distinction, to be married publicly in parish-churches, that their marriages might be registered, and the more easily proved. Instead of which, he drew up another, filled with clauses calculated to prevent all marriages without consent, with a design, as it should seem, to perpetuate, as much as might be, a fortune or a family once made, by continuing from generation to generation a vast power of property, and to facilitate, at each descent, the lumping of one great sum, or one great family, to another, by bargain and sale, in opposition to the generous principles of equality and diffusive property, which free states have always encouraged.

Upon the whole, however, his great abilities as a lawyer, and the general tenour of his conduct and example, were very beneficial to society, while his foibles produced no lasting bad effects: we may therefore safely pronounce him to have been an illustrious ornament to his country.

His lordship married Margaret, one of the daughters of Charles Cocks, Esq; by whom he had five sons: 1. Philip, the present earl of Hardwicke. 2. Charles Yorke, who enjoyed distinguished reputation at the bar, as a counsellor and attorney-general; he suddenly accepted the seals, with the title of lord Morton, and as suddenly died, two days after, universally lamented. 3. His excellency Sir Joseph Yorke, now ambassador extraordinary to the states-general, in which high station he has continued many years, and is justly deemed one of the ablest ministers in Europe. 4. John Yorke, member

member in the present parliament for Ryegate. 5. The right reverend James Yorke, bishop of St. Davids. He had likewise two daughters; Elizabeth, married to lord Anson, she died in 1760, without issue; and Margaret, married to Sir John Heathcott, baronet.

MEMOIRS OF

SIR JOHN BARNARD, KNT.

THE many eminent public services performed by this patriotic citizen, for the benefit of the community at large, and of the inhabitants of the first commercial city in Europe in particular, have deservedly found a place in the annals of his country, and are preserved in this work, as an animating example to incite those who may rise to the same honours, conferred on them by the free voice of their fellow citizens, to tread in his steps, and to merit the exalted character given of him by cotemporary historians and biographers.

The editor is totally at a loss to account for the difficulty and disappointments that has attended his endeavours to obtain accounts of the family, the date of the births, and other common events of the first stages of the lives of many eminent persons of our own time: he could not find them extant in print; and the time bestowed in searching the registers of parishes, and of schools, seemed too valuable to be compensated by barren incidents, the obtaining of which might have retarded his publication another year. But wherever these are wanting, in

compliance with custom, he has thought proper to prefix the title of memoirs, though, in his own opinion, the life of a man does not properly commence with his existence, but with the first exertions of the faculties of his mind, or the industry of his hands, for the benefit of that civil society at large, of which he is a member, or of the particular relation in which he stands, by the ties of consanguinity.

The useful life of Sir John Barnard, at least as far back as we are able to trace it, commenced in the year 1722, when he was chosen one of the representatives in parliament for the city of London; and this important trust was confided to him in seven successive parliaments, his name always appearing at the head of the candidates upon every general election; and whatever opposition others met with, none of any consequence was attempted against him.

In 1725, our worthy citizen distinguished himself in the house of commons by opposing a bill, intitled, "A bill for regulating elections within the city of London, and for preserving the peace, good order, and government, of the said city." The grounds on which Sir John Barnard opposed it, were, that it made an alteration in the city-charter, by repealing a part of the ancient rights and privileges contained therein, by which a bad precedent was established for the crown to violate corporation-charters at pleasure: that it took away the rights of a great number of honest citizens to vote at wardmote elections, who had enjoyed that privilege from time immemorial: that it abridged the privileges of the common-council; and that it transferred too great a weight of authority and influence from that assembly to the court of mayor and aldermen, thereby, in a great measure, subverting the ancient constitution of the city. Counsel were heard upon the petitions of the common-council,

cil, and of several citizens at the bar of both houses, against this bill; and in favour of it, upon the petitions of the court of mayor and aldermen and other citizens; and it met with a strong opposition.

The particular clauses which in fact infringed the charter, and, under the sanction of law, broke through the rules of equity were, 1. That no citizen should have a right of voting at wardmote elections, unless he rented, or otherwise inhabited (as master) a house of ten pounds a year, though he should pay all parish taxes and dues: this was considered as an unjustifiable hardship; and it occasioned such tumultuous assemblies of the poorer citizens resorting every day to Westminster, to know the event of the bill, and such loud complaints, that the government thought proper to double the guards at St. James's, and at Leicester-house, and to take every necessary precaution to preserve the peace. 2. That no act to pass in common-council for the future (except what relates to the nomination of a few city officers) without the assent of the major part of the court of mayor and aldermen present, in such common council. The counsel for the bill insisted, that the mayor and aldermen had anciently that right which this clause establishes; but the proof of that right appeared so remote and obscure; that several lords in the upper house protested against it; and because on the other side it appeared plainly, that from the time the city was first incorporated, to that of bringing in this bill, such a claim has been very seldom made, and has never been acknowledged. They therefore desired the opinion of the judges on the legality of infringing the charter and the ancient rights, customs, and privileges, enjoyed by the common citizens; but this motion being put, it was carried in the negative, and the bill passed. Sir John Barnard

received the thanks of the court of common-council for the active part he took in the opposition to this act, which has ever since been the standing rule for regulating elections in the city.

In the year 1727, he was chosen alderman of Dowgate-ward, upon the death of John Crowley, Esq; who had enjoyed that honour only a few months. The following year, he prepared a bill for the better encouragement and regulation of seamen in the merchants service, which he carried through the house with great credit to himself; and it received the royal assent in May 1729; and in the same session, he took an active part in the enquiry appointed to be made into the state of the gaols of this kingdom, which took its rise from the iniquitous and cruel conduct of Thomas Bambridge, Esq; warden of the fleet, who had put several debtors in irons, particularly Sir Robert Rich, baronet; and had suffered others, from venality, to escape. When Bambridge and his agents were committed to Newgate, and the attorney-general was ordered to prosecute them, alderman Barnard took great pains, as a magistrate, to procure information of the several abuses committed in the fleet-prison to the oppression of the unfortunate debtors; and, by a pathetic representation of the grievances they laboured under at that time, he was highly instrumental in procuring an immediate act of insolvency, and in framing an act for the better regulating the fleet-prison, and more effectually preventing and punishing arbitrary and illegal practices on the part of the warden, or his deputies. But our worthy alderman did not confine his public services merely to domestic occurrences; his extensive capacity took a wider sphere of action; and upon questions of general policy, in which the honour or interest of his country with respect to foreign transactions was concerned,

concerned, he shewed himself to be a firm patriot, and an able politician. Thus, in the year 1730, when a bill was brought into the house by the minister, to prohibit all his majesty's subjects, and all persons residing in the kingdom, from lending money to foreigners, he took the lead in the opposition to it. The bill was calculated to put a stop to the negotiation of a loan for the service of the emperor of Germany, amounting to 400,000*l.* then in agitation on the exchange of London; the alderman had no objection to a bill particularly framed, by naming the emperor, and the express purpose of the act, to put an end to this negotiation; but he strongly argued against a general prohibition of this kind, as laying a violent and detrimental restraint on commerce, and as tending to throw a very lucrative branch of trade solely into the hands of the Dutch, to the benefit of the bank of Amsterdam, and to the prejudice of the merchants, and the monied interest of England. In fact, if some amendments had not been made to this bill, it would not have been safe for any merchant to have advanced money to any foreign correspondent upon any extraordinary emergency, in the intercourses of trade; and, as he justly observed, the exchequer would have been converted into a court of inquisition; for there was a clause in it, empowering the attorney-general by English bill in the court of exchequer, to extort discovery by exacting an oath from suspected persons. The opposition so far succeeded, that the bill was considerably amended before it passed, and an explanation was given by the ministry, that his majesty did not mean to prevent his subjects from lending money to the king of Portugal or any other prince in alliance with him, and that the only reason for not naming the emperor in the bill was, that by making it general, he could have no

foundation to come to an open rupture with England on this account.

The next object of his patriotic attention to the faithful discharge of his duty to his constituents was the excise scheme, brought into the house of commons by the minister, Sir Robert Walpole, then at the head of the treasury, on the 14th of March 1733, in a committee of the whole house, which had been appointed, to consider of the most proper methods for the security and improvement of the duties and revenues already charged upon, and payable from tobacco and wines. The minister expatiated on the frauds that had been committed for many years by the smugglers and fraudulent dealers in these articles, to the enriching themselves at the expence of the public revenues; he said, the tobacco planters in America were reduced almost to despair, by the many that had been committed in that trade, by the heavy duties paid on importation, and by the ill usage of their factors and agents in England; he had therefore a scheme to propose which would remedy these evils, increase the public revenues to the amount of 2, or 300,000*l.* per annum, and greatly benefit the fair trader. And, as the laws of the customs had been found ineffectual for preventing the frauds complained of, he proposed "to add the laws of excise to the laws of the customs, by repealing great part of the duty paid on importation, and in lieu thereof, laying an inland duty or excise of four pence per pound on the consumption: to be collected by the excise officers, and subjected to the excise laws." The first regular step in this business was to move in the committee, a repeal of the importation duties granted by several acts in the reigns of Charles II. James II. and queen Anne. Micajah Perry, as senior alderman and one of the representatives of the city, opened the debate in opposition

to this motion: he admitted that frauds had been committed in the tobacco trade, but not to the amount stated by the minister: as to the hardships of the tobacco planters, they had been put upon complaining by letters sent to them from administration for that purpose; and they now repented it. That if this scheme took effect, they would be in a much worse condition, for no man here would be concerned in the trade, whereas now the merchants of this kingdom, sent ships to receive the tobacco in America, and advanced the planters ready money, till it could be brought to market and sold. But if the new plan took place, so far from being an advantage to the fair trader or the honest factor, it would ruin both; how then could it benefit the public revenues.

Sir John Barnard took it up in a commercial and a political light, and said, "it seemed to be the last branch of liberty they had to contend for, that it took away their ancient birth-right, trials by juries, from all persons concerned in this branch of trade; they had already subjected great numbers of the people of this nation to the arbitrary laws of excise, and this scheme would extend this subjection to so many more, that the fatal consequences were to be dreaded.

"It had been said, his majesty was a wise and a good prince; but no argument could be drawn from thence, no induce them to surrender their liberties and privileges. Though his majesty should never make a bad use of it, his successors might. A slave that has the good fortune to meet with a humane master, is nevertheless a slave. Their liberties were too valuable, and were purchased at too high a price, to be sported with, or wantonly given up, to the best of kings: he hoped they had the same value for their liberties as their ancestors had;
if

if so, they would certainly use all peaceable means to preserve them; and if such should prove ineffectual, he hoped there was no Englishman but would use those methods their ancestors had done, and transmit them to their posterity in the same glorious condition they found them, and not sacrifice the constitution to the poor pretence of suppressing a few frauds in the collecting the public revenues, the whole amount of which appeared to be no more, according to the confession of the commissioners themselves, than 40,000 l. per ann. which might be prevented without entering upon such dangerous measures."

Though all the city members put a negative upon the motion, yet it was carried through the committee, together with several other resolutions, which were warmly debated for two days; and upon the report being made to the house, all the resolutions of the committee were agreed to; and upon the question, for leave to bring in a bill accordingly, the house divided, for the bill 249, against it 189. During the debate, the people being alarmed, flocked to Westminster in great multitudes, and filled all the avenues to the house of commons.

In all promiscuous assemblies of this sort, many of the populace, excited only by curiosity, will be found intermixed with citizens of reputation and property concerned in the business. This happened to be the case upon the present occasion; and several members, the known friends to the excise-scheme, having been grossly insulted in going to, and returning from the house, Sir Robert Walpole complained of it to the house; he said, these people would not have crowded to their door, if they had not been instigated by others of higher rank; that circular letters had been sent by the
beadles

beadles of the wards in the city, summoning the citizens, almost at their peril, to come down that day (the 14th of March) to the house of commons; he had one of those letters in his pocket, signed by a deputy of a ward (looking at the same time at Sir John Barnard); and he concluded his speech with the following unguarded expressions, which had well-nigh cost him his life:

“Gentlemen might call the multitude, now at their door, a modest multitude. But whatever temper they were in when they came there, it might be very much altered now: after having waited so long (till near 2 in the morning of the 15th) it might be very easy for some designing seditious person to raise a tumult amongst them: he could not think it prudent or regular to use any methods for bringing such multitudes to that place on any pretence. Gentlemen might give them what name they thought fit: it might be said, they came thither as humble suppliants, but he knew whom the law called STURDY BEGGARS. And those who brought them there could not be certain they would not behave in the same manner.”

Alderman Barnard then rising to speak, the friends of the minister called loudly for the question; but Sir John Cotton over-ruled it at length, by crying out, to order, and appealing to the chairman of the committee, in a manner which shews the esteem in which our patriot was held at this early stage of his public life. “Sir, I hope you will call gentlemen to order. There is now a gentleman got up to speak, who speaks as well as any gentleman in the house, and who deserves attention as much as any gentleman that ever spoke in this house. Besides, Sir, he is one of the representatives of the greatest and richest city in Europe; a city which is greatly interested in this debate; and, therefore,

be

he must be heard." The committee being called to order, Sir John Barnard made the following stinging reply to Sir Robert Walpole's insinuations thrown out against him: *20th Nov 1711*

"Sir, I know of no unfair or irregular methods made use of to bring people from the city to your doors; but any gentlemen or merchants might lawfully desire their friends, by letters or otherwise, to come down to the court of requests, and solicit their friends and acquaintance against any scheme or project they thought prejudicial to them. This is the undoubted right of the subject, and what has been practised upon all occasions. The honourable member talked of STURDY BEGGARS (highwaymen or robbers) but I assure him, those I saw at the door, deserve the name of STURDY BEGGARS as little as that honourable gentleman himself, or any gentleman whatever. The city of London was well apprised of what we were to be upon this day; where they had their information I do not know, but I am sure they have a right notion of the scheme, and are so generally, and so zealously bent against it, that whatever methods might have been used to call them thither, I am sure it would have been impossible to have found any legal methods to have prevented their coming."

The rash expression of Sir Robert was not readily forgot, nor ever forgiven; and when the bill was brought in to be read a first time, on the 4th of April, the crowd without doors was much greater than before: the mob were very near seizing him, and might have done it, if Mr. Cunningham, a Scotch member, had not drawn his sword and kept them off, till Sir Robert got into the avenue to the house! Some of the other members in office were likewise ill treated; and, perhaps, this behaviour contributed not a little to form the inconsistent majority

majority by whom the first reading of the bill was carried; the numbers upon the division were 236 for it, to 200 against it.

No minister would ever risque his credit upon 36 votes; and by this time, petitions from the city of London, in their corporate capacity, and from several other cities, were brought to the bar of the house; Sir Robert, therefore, very prudently moved on the day appointed for the second reading, which was the 11th, that it be put off to the 12th of June; but the opposition, now perceiving that they had carried their point, contended for having it absolutely rejected; however, finding that the minister intended likewise to adjourn the committee for the further improvement and regulating of the revenues, into which this scheme had been first introduced, to a distant day, they acquiesced in his motion; and thus ended this dangerous project. The rejoicings made in the cities of London and Westminster, and in divers parts of the kingdom, were equal to any that had been known for the most signal victories over a foreign enemy.

In 1734, he brought into the house and carried the famous bill to prevent stock-jobbing; which put a stop to the most iniquitous branches of that species of gaming.

In 1735, Sir John Barnard moved, in the house of commons, for leave to bring in a bill to limit the number of playhouses, and to restrain the licentiousness of players, which was now got to an amazing height, strolling companies performing, without any licence, in all quarters of the town. For want of proper support, it failed at this time; but the minister himself saw the expediency of the measure two years afterwards, and brought in a bill upon the same plan, except a few amendments, which passed into a law.

Upon

Upon the quarrel becoming public between the late king and his royal highness Frederic, prince of Wales, Sir John Barnard, though he did not make himself in any respect a party, by paying his court to the prince at Leicester house, which was deemed a high offence at St. James's, yet thought proper to join those members of the house of commons, who were for settling an annual income on the prince, of 100,000*l.* per annum, independent of of the crown; accordingly, he seconded Mr. Pulteney's motion for that purpose, in the sessions of 1737, on this patriotic principle; that the heir apparent, or any other prince of the royal blood, ought not to be so totally dependant on the king for his subsistence, that the dread of its being withheld, or kept in arrear, should deter him from speaking his sentiments freely on the conduct of the king's ministers: the motion miscarried by the influence of the minister, as did another of a more public nature, made by Sir John Barnard in the same session of parliament: "The house having resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of the national debt, a state of which had been delivered in on the 18th of March, when it amounted to 47,855,948*l.* 3*s.* 3½*d.* a debate arose upon the interest payable for this debt, and several of the members concurring in opinion with Sir John, that the interest was too high, he moved, "that his majesty should be enabled to raise money either by sale of annuities, or by borrowing, at an interest not exceeding 3 per cent, a sum sufficient to redeem the old south sea annuities, which bore 4 per cent. interest; and that such of the annuitants as should be inclined to subscribe their respective annuities should be preferred to all others."

Evidently calculated as it was for public utility, as later experience has demonstrated, it met with great

great opposition from the treasury-bench; but Sir John Barnard's arguments were so unanswerable, that it was referred to a committee to draw up a bill on the principles of the motion; accordingly the committee sat, reported their approbation of the motion, and were ordered to bring in the bill, which was read a first and second time; but upon the motion for committing it, it was rejected by a ministerial majority.

In the year 1738, Sir John Barnard was lord mayor of London; and though he met with a severe domestic affliction, in the death of his lady during his mayoralty, he attended to the duties of this high station with unwearied assiduity, and supported the dignity of chief magistrate with firmness, activity, and impartiality, for which he received the thanks of the corporation.

The year 1740 produced some distressful events, which gave him an opportunity of demonstrating his zeal for the honour and interest of his country in her commercial concerns. After war had been declared against Spain in 1739, the seas were covered with privateers, sailing under Spanish colours, most of which were French ships, equipped with French subjects, and in a perfidious manner lent to Spain, to enable the Spaniards to make more frequent captures at sea than they could otherwise have done. The trading part of the nation exclaimed loudly at the success of these privateers, which was imputed to the negligence of the admiralty, in not providing proper convoys for our merchant ships, so that many of them were taken in the chops of the channel. As soon as the parliament met, which was on the 13th of November, Sir John Barnard, in a debate upon an address, in answer to the king's speech, complained of the little care that had been taken, since the commencement of hostilities, to protect the traders

ers of Great Britain, who, he affirmed, had been much greater sufferers by captures of their ships than the Spanish subjects. This well-timed remonstrance in parliament had its desired effect; the admiralty board took the matter into consideration, and a larger number of ships of war were stationed in the West-Indies, and sent out on cruising voyages to those parts which were most infested by Spanish privateers.

In the same session of parliament, Sir John Barnard supported Mr. William Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. Lyttelton, in carrying the pension-bill through the lower house; it was a bill to exclude all pensioners of the crown from seats in the house of commons. When it came into the house of lords, it occasioned a long and passionate debate, and upon a division it was thrown out.

We have an undoubted right, from the general character of Sir John Barnard, to consider the next public measure to which he gave the sanction of his vote, and added the weight of his interest, as founded in the same zeal for his country, which animated him upon all occasions; and we must therefore reckon in the number of his public services, his joining with his friends in supporting the motion of Mr. Sandys, in the session of 1741, for an address to his majesty, "that he would be graciously pleased to remove the right honourable Sir Robert Walpole, knight of the most noble order of the Garter, first commissioner of the treasury; comptroller and under treasurer of the exchequer, and one of his majesty's most honourable privy-council, from his majesty's presence and councils for ever."

This motion was seconded by lord Limerick; and the principal persons who sustained by the most eloquent speeches, and pointed out with the greatest

greatest energy and accuracy, the many errors and mal-practices of administration, were Sir John Barnard, Mr. William Pitt, now earl of Chatham, Mr. Pulteney, Sir John Hynde Cotton, and Mr. Gibbon.

The defence made by Sir Robert Walpole, is a master-piece of cool reasoning, and in many respects was unanswerable; the debate upon the motion is one of the best on record; it lasted till three in the morning, when above sixty of the country gentlemen withdrew, who were thereupon called *shakers*; and the question being put, it was lost by a very great majority, 208, to 106. But though it miscarried, the speeches made by the gentlemen who supported the motion, had such an effect out of doors, that the character of Sir Robert Walpole was ruined in the opinion of the public, and his authority from this day visibly declined: and in the following spring he accepted a peerage, and resigned all his employments. (See his life.)

We have only to add, as a further proof of Sir John Barnard's public spirit, integrity, and constitutional independency, as one of the representatives of the capital city of England, by the example of which the rest are generally influenced, that he was a steady friend to triennial parliaments; and as often as the question for shortening the duration of parliaments came into debate, which happened frequently while he sat in the house, he supported it with resolution and strong force of argument; and though the repeal of the septennial-bill could not be accomplished, he had the happiness to live in a time, when ministers and their adherents gave decent attention in the house, to every proposition advanced or supported by the representatives of so respectable a body as the citizens of London; and they had the satisfaction of hearing many replies,
and

and sometimes convincing arguments against their motions. Nay, Sir John Godschall and Sir John Barnard were within 20 votes of carrying the repeal of septennial parliaments in 1742.

Not such is the fate of Mr. Sawbridge, the present lord mayor of London, and one of the city members, who treading in the steps of his great predecessor, Sir John Barnard, in his parliamentary conduct, distinguishes himself by an unwearied attention to his duty, and by promoting the true interest of his country and of his constituents upon all occasions. Being clearly of opinion that short and frequent parliaments form a part of the superior excellence of our constitution, and the most effectual barriers against corruption, bribery, and the undue ministerial influence of the crown; he annually makes a motion, for shortening the duration of parliaments; and he takes care to give previous notice of his intention; yet, important as this subject is in itself, and still more so from the respect due to the character and situation of the mover, it is always received with a sneer, and no reply whatever is made to it; but the impenetrable ministerial platoon, (like Turkish mutes, who, destined to strangle some devoted victim, wait in profound silence for the imperial mandate of destruction) range themselves on each side of the reigning political deity, and eagerly look for the question, which being put, they sacrifice it in a confused vociferation of their favourite monosyllable, NO.

We shall now take our leave of Sir John Barnard, as a member of parliament, and attend to his conduct as a magistrate. He was many years alderman of Dowgate-ward, but upon the death of Sir John Thomson, in 1749, he removed, pursuant to an act of common-council, and took upon him the custody

custody of Bridge-ward without, always held by the senior alderman, who, upon this removal, takes the title of Father of the city. He was many years president of Christ's-hospital, and a vigilant, active governor of Bethlehem and Bridewell-hospitals. At length, being oppressed by the infirmities of age, and worn out with the fatigues of public business, in the year 1758, he desired leave to resign his gown; and the sense of his great merit, as it is expressed by the vote of thanks of his fellow-citizens, is the best encomium on this illustrious patriot that can be given to the reader; we have therefore thought proper to transcribe it from the records.

In the court of mayor and aldermen, upon a motion of Sir Robert Ladbroke, the thanks of the court of aldermen were given to Sir John Barnard, and expressed in the following terms: "It is unanimously agreed and ordered, that the thanks of this court be given to Sir John Barnard, knight, late one of the aldermen, and father of this city, for his constant attendance and salutary counsels in this court; his wise, vigilant, and impartial administration of justice; his unwearied zeal for the honour, safety and prosperity of his fellow-citizens; his inviolable attachment to the laws and liberties of his country; and for the noble example he has set of a long and uninterrupted course of virtue in private as well as in public life."

At a court of common-council, it was likewise unanimously resolved, upon the motion of John Paterson, Esq; "That Sir John Barnard, knight, so justly and emphatically styled the Father of the city, having lately (to the great and lasting regret of this court) thought proper to resign the office of alderman, the thanks of this court be given him,
for

for having so long and faithfully devoted himself to the service of his fellow-citizens; for the honour and influence which this city has, upon many occasions, derived from the dignity of his character, and the wisdom, steadiness, and integrity of his conduct; for his firm adherence to the constitution both in church and state; his noble struggles for liberty; and his disinterested and invariable pursuit of the true glory and prosperity of his king and country; uninfluenced by power; unawed by clamour; and unbiassed by the prejudice of party."

No addition can be given to this perfect character; we have therefore only to observe, that in order to perpetuate the memory of his signal services to the city, a statue was voted by the same courts, and erected in his life-time on the royal-exchange, representing him at full length, in his majesterial robes.

Thus crowned with honour, and full of years, he retired to his country-seat at Clapham, where he died in the month of August 1767.

*** *Authorities.* Mortimer's Hist. of England, Vol. III. Parliamentary Debates. Noorthouck's History of London.

MEMOIRS OF
THOMAS PELHAM HOLLES,

Duke of NEWCASTLE, &c.

And of his Brother,

The Right Hon. HENRY PELHAM.

[A. D. 1693, to 1768.]

THE long and active part which the late duke of Newcastle had in the administration of the public affairs of Great Britain, renders the few anecdotes of his life we have been able to collect, of too much importance to be omitted.

Imperfect as they are, they furnish the means of continuing the thread of history in a regular manner, and of closing it with propriety: the ministers who succeeded his grace at the helm of government being still living, except Mr. George Grenville, whose abilities, and integrity in office merit the highest encomiums; though the former, we apprehend will be doubted, and perhaps denied by future historians, on account of the unhappy quarrel in which this nation has been involved with her colonies, in consequence of the stamp act, projected and carried into execution by that enterprising minister. Others, however, may be disposed to consider the measure as founded in policy and justice, and to impute all the distur-

bances that have happened in North America, to the impolitic repeal of the act. At all events, whoever draws the character of Mr. Grenville, to be perused by posterity, will, we hope, do him the justice to acknowledge, that, for the short time he had the management of the public revenues, as first lord of the treasury, the strictest œconomy was observed, and every device put in practice to ameliorate the finances, to liquidate and reduce the national debt, and to save the public money, by a strict scrutiny into the demands of those rapacious vultures, the commissaries in the last war, from whose accounts he cut off near six millions sterling; which, but for his integrity and resolution, must at this hour have made part of our national debt.

From this necessary digression, we will now return to the memoirs of the duke of Newcastle. His grace was the son of Thomas Pelham, a peer of the realm, by the title of Baron Pelham of Loughton: he was born in the year 1693, and in 1711, he succeeded to the title and large estate of his uncle, John Holles, duke of Newcastle upon Tyne, who had made him his adopted heir; and her majesty queen Anne, soon after empowered him to take the surname and bear the arms of the family of Holles, pursuant to the last will of his uncle. From this time therefore, his style and title run as we have given it at the head of these memoirs. But still he only sat as a baron in the house of peers, the title of duke of Newcastle upon Tyne, being only honorary. However, he was distinguished as a young nobleman of an aspiring genius towards the close of the reign of queen Anne, and his large estate giving him an extensive interest and influence, he was considered by the whig-party, at this early stage of life, as a powerful friend. The tory ministry during the last four years of the queen's reign, hav-

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ing pursued measures which tended to the subversion of the protestant succession, in the house of Hanover, the duke openly avowed his principles, and his attachment to George I. with whom he had the honour to correspond after the death of the electress Sophia in 1714, when it became necessary for the court of Hanover to be apprized of all the motions of the English ministry, and to be well assured who were their real friends.

Upon the demise of the queen, the same year, the duke of Newcastle exerted himself in promoting a loyal zeal for the new revolution, throughout Nottinghamshire, where his influence was universal; and having secured this county in the interest of George I. he flew to London, and entered into an association with the principal noblemen and gentlemen of the whig party, who were considered by the new sovereign as his best friends. Accordingly, his majesty, on his arrival in England, took the reins of government out of the hands of the Tories, and made a total change in the administration. The duke of Newcastle, however, was too young to expect any considerable share in the government, and the king had so many great men amongst the whigs to provide for, whose political abilities had stood the test of many years experience, that it was thought expedient at this time to reward his zeal in support of the house of Hanover, by new dignities and posts of emolument, rather than by any office in the departments of public business.

In the month of October 1714, he was created viscount Pelham of Haughton in the county of Nottingham, with remainder to his brother Henry Pelham and his heirs male, and earl of Clare in the county of Suffolk; and appointed lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Nottingham. In November, he was made custos rotulorum of

Middlesex, and lord lieutenant of the said county, and of the city of Westminster, in December following. He was also constituted steward, warden, and keeper of the forest of Sherwood, and park of Folewood.

By this time, the disaffected party, known by the name of jacobites, who wished for the restoration of the family of the Stuarts, and seemed determined to run all hazards to accomplish it, found it their interest to unite with the discontented tories, who were ripe for any mischief, to revenge the affront and inconvenience of having been dismissed from all employments of trust and emolument under the new government. This union formed a powerful opposition to all the measures of the whig-administration, and even produced the most daring insults to the person and character of the sovereign. The press teemed with seditious pamphlets, the frantic populace assembled in a tumultuous manner in many parts of the capital, and proceeded to acts of open violence; breaking the windows of the houses of all persons who distinguished themselves by espousing the cause of government, and pulling down the meeting houses of the protestant-dissenters, who had been the early and zealous supporters of the protestant succession. Matters were carried so far at length, that the clergy in the interest of the tories, and thence denominated high-church-men, encouraged the people to commit these disorders by inflammatory sermons; till his majesty, as supreme head of the church, saw himself under the necessity to publish an order, prohibiting the clergy from intermeddling with affairs of state in the pulpit. Even the very guards were spirited up to mutiny, on account of their clothing being of an inferior quality to what was usual, which arose from the avarice of the agent. All this time, the jacobites kept

kept up a correspondence with the pretender, and gave him encouragement to attempt an invasion; assuring him that he might rely on the assistance of the tories, who were determined at all events, to subvert the present government. The intelligence of the pretender's designs being conveyed to government, in the manner related in the life of the earl of Stair, proper measures were taken to frustrate his scheme; but the disaffected in all parts of the kingdom, buoyed up by false hopes, rose in several parts of the kingdom in formidable mobs, and committed great depredations, particularly on the property of dissenters. As to the London-mob it increased daily, and went by the name of the Ormond-mob; in this situation of affairs, government was obliged to act with great delicacy, for employing the military to suppress these rioters, would have weakened the interest of the house of Hanover, and have rendered administration unpopular: the ministry, therefore, took a measure which could not be justified, but under such particular circumstances: whig-mobs were secretly encouraged; and the duke of Newcastle soon distinguished himself as the chief of a mob, called after him, which had more effect in driving the duke of Ormond out of the kingdom, and in checking the insolence of the tories, than the right, or any other interposition of the civil-power.

The king now judged it proper to give this active supporter of his cause, fresh marks of his royal favour, by creating him marquis and duke of Newcastle under Line, in November 1715.

In April 1717, his grace was appointed lord-chamberlain of the household, on the promotion of the duke of Bolton to be lord-lieutenant of Ireland: and the following year, he was elected one of the knights companions of the most noble order of the Garter. Being now about the king's person, he

had an opportunity of displaying his talents for state-affairs, and it was not long before his majesty put him to the test, by consulting him as a cabinet-counsellor, on the famous quadruple alliance, between the emperor, the king of Great Britain, the king of France, and the States General. As his grace was consulted upon the terms of this negotiation, he was appointed one of the commissioners to sign the treaty, which was executed at Whitehall, on the 22d of July 1718.

In 1719, his majesty went to Hanover, and the duke of Newcastle was appointed one of the lords-justices, for the administration of the government, during the king's absence. He enjoyed the same honour, upon similar occasions, at different times, in the absence of George I. and of his late majesty.

The duke held the post of lord-chamberlain till the month of April 1724, when he resigned it, upon being appointed one of the principal secretaries of state, upon a change in the ministry.

His grace succeeded the lord Carteret, who was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland. At the same time, the duke's brother, Mr. Henry Pelham, was appointed secretary at war; and from this period we may consider the two brothers as statesmen, whose united interest and abilities paved the way for their attainment of that plenitude of power, which they enjoyed some years after.

In 1726, his grace was chosen recorder of Nottingham, an honour at that time done to the duke; though, when he became first lord of the treasury, his continuing to hold this office was a return of the compliment to the county.

The accession of his late majesty in 1727, made no alteration in the cabinet; all the great officers of state were continued; and the system of politics established by George I. was strictly adhered to for
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some time. Sir Robert Walpole was indeed at the head of the treasury, but the supreme direction of the public affairs, of so potent an empire as that of Great Britain, was not yet usurped by any single, presuming, man. Lord viscount Townshend was considered as the chief manager of foreign concerns; his great knowledge in treaties and negotiations, acquired on embassies to different courts, qualifying him for this department in preference to the duke of Newcastle, who, being the junior secretary of state, we find very little notice taken of him in the annals of the first ten years of the reign of George II. except that he and his brother constantly and firmly supported Sir Robert Walpole, after he assumed the envied post of prime, or rather sole, minister of Great Britain; but when that statesman's power began to decline, it was visible to the courtiers, that the two brothers were taking measures to undermine, and to succeed him. And in 1737, a strong proof of the increasing influence of the duke's friends was given by his being elected high-steward of the university of Cambridge.

In the session of parliament in the year 1739, the duke of Newcastle was entrusted with a business of great importance, because it was likely to meet with a powerful opposition; this was, to lay before the house of peers, a subsidy treaty with the king of Denmark, by which his majesty had agreed to pay to the Danish monarch 70000*l.* per annum, on condition that he should furnish Great Britain with a succour of 6000 men, at any time when they should be required: his grace likewise undertook to deliver a message from the king, desiring the house would enable him to fulfil this engagement. This treaty, and the demand consequent to it, was violently attacked by the antiministerial peers, and particularly by lord Carteret, then out of office,

who was an able statesman, and an eloquent speaker; but the duke of Newcastle exerted himself upon this occasion, and so forcibly pointed out the expediency of the measure, the nation being upon the eve of a war with Spain, that the treaty was approved, after a long and animated debate, by a considerable majority.

In the house of commons the treaty met with very rough treatment, from Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. Pulteney, the leading members in the opposition, against Sir Robert Walpole's administration; but Mr. Henry Pelham supported it by unanswerable arguments; well knowing, that if a war should ensue, and the reins of government should come into the hands of himself and his brother, they could not possibly carry it on without subsidiary treaties for foreign troops; and the vote for the supply being carried, as much through the influence of Mr. Pelham, as by that of the minister, the brothers were looked upon with a very favourable eye at court; and it was foretold, that, if any change took place in the ministry, they would certainly be placed at the head of affairs. However, upon the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, in 1742, a mixed administration was formed; the earl of Wilmington was made first lord of the treasury; and lord Carteret was appointed one of the principal secretaries of state, and had the greatest share of power in his department; so that this was called the Carteret-administration. A ministry composed of some of the most violent members in the late opposition, in both houses, of a few friends of the discarded premier, and of others who were forming a new opposition in order to bring the Pelham's into power; in short, of a medley of whigs and tories, could not be expected to act in concert, and

and therefore its dissolution was foretold, almost as soon as it was established.

The earl of Wilmington succeeded Sir Robert as first lord of the treasury, and Mr. Sandys, his great opponent in the house of commons, filled his other office, being also appointed one of the treasury-board, and chancellor of the exchequer. The first measure of the new ministry was to gratify the popular wish, by setting on foot an enquiry into the conduct of affairs for twenty years past; a motion, to appoint a committee for this purpose, was brought into the house of commons, on the 9th of March, by lord viscount Limerick, and was supported by Sir John St. Aubyn, Mr. William Pitt, and lord Percival. It was opposed by Sir Charles Wager, Mr. Henry Pelham, and Mr. Henry Fox; and, after a long debate, it was rejected by a majority of two. However, on the 23d, a motion, varying only in its form, but having the same object in view, was carried by a majority of seven voices; and it was resolved, that a committee of secrecy should be chosen by ballot, to enquire into the conduct of Robert, earl of Orford, during the last ten years of his being first commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer.

But the opposition given to these motions by Mr. Pelham in the lower house, and to similar proceedings in the upper house, by the duke of Newcastle, plainly demonstrated that there was no concord in the new cabinet; and in the session of parliament of the following year, an opposition was formed in both houses, as formidable as that which had made the earl of Orford resign; the continuing 16000 Hanoverians in the pay of Great Britain, to fight the battles of the queen of Hungary on the continent, was stated to be a gross imposition on

the British nation; and the distinguished talents for which some of the gentlemen in the present ministry had been almost idolized while they were out of office, could not be discerned since they had the direction of public affairs; in fact, they had but few friends, and no great interest either in parliament or out of doors, and they were despised for having changed their principles and party. The minister, lord Carteret, possessed great abilities as a statesman, he exerted them with great spirit in defence of the measures adopted by government; and he found means to obtain the approbation of the house of lords to the unpopular step of retaining the 16000 Hanoverian troops in the service of Great-Britain for the year 1743; the carrying of this point, of the repeal of the gin act, and obtaining a negative on two motions calculated to bring an odium on the ministry for the Austrian alliance, insured them their posts during the summer recess of parliament, when lord Carteret accompanied the king to the army in Flanders; and the victory at Dettingen, gained by his majesty in person, with his minister by his side, seemed to promise a triumphant return to parliament the ensuing session; but the opposition had been too busy in lord Carteret's absence; the anti-ministerial writers had poisoned the minds of the people, and had excited in them a fixed aversion to the chief persons who managed the helm of government. To effect this, groundless suspicions were artfully propagated; the burthen of the taxes was exaggerated; the true interest of the nation was said to be sacrificed to the aggrandisement of a foreign electorate; no pains were spared to increase the national jealousy of the Hanoverians; the resignation of the great earl of Stair, who was disgusted at the partiality shewn by the king to foreign generals, increased the discontent;

and lord Carteret must have resigned at this period, so great were the dissensions in parliament and in the cabinet, if the unexpected news of an intended invasion by the pretender's eldest son, had not called upon all parties, to unite in the common defence of their sovereign, and of the nation.

In the mean time, the Newcastle interest had been greatly strengthened by the advancement of Henry Pelham to the head of the treasury, upon the death of the earl of Wilmington, in July 1743, with which he likewise held the office of chancellor of the exchequer, and from this time, the whig party in administration preponderated, and the tory interest, attached to lord Carteret, declined; so that towards the end of 1744, when the nation was settled, and all alarms about the pretender were over, the projected invasion having miscarried, lord Carteret threw up, and the seals of his office were given to lord Harrington, who being brought in by the Pelhams, acted under them; and now the administration of the brothers commenced, Mr. Henry Pelham being considered as prime minister, and the duke of Newcastle as the second person in power and office in the state.

The following year afforded the new administration an opportunity of acquiring great popularity, by the well concerted, active measures taken to suppress the rebellion in Scotland: a perfect harmony prevailed in both houses; there was no division upon any ministerial business during the whole session of parliament; and the victory gained at Culloden by his royal highness the late duke of Cumberland in April 1746, strengthened the public opinion of the new administration, by whose recommendation the duke had been appointed generalissimo of all the king's forces, and commander in chief against the rebels. The same entire appro-

bation of the conduct of the Pelhams appeared in the succeeding session of parliament; the most affectionate addresses were presented to the throne, and the most liberal supplies granted for the support of the queen of Hungary against France and the king of Prussia. In a word, the nation seemed to congratulate itself on its escape from the great danger of a revolution unfavourable to civil and religious liberty, which might have been effected, if the reins of government had been in the hands of the tories, or of any persons less distinguished than the Pelhams, for their zealous attachment to the house of Hanover.

Such was the happy situation of affairs at home; but the bad success of our military operations in Flanders in the campaign of 1747, particularly the defeat of the duke of Cumberland at the battle of Val, where the confederate army would have been cut to pieces, if it had not been for the signal valour of the late lord Egonier, cast a gloom upon the aspect of foreign affairs, and gave a handle for opposition at the next meeting of parliament, which was a new one; and it must not be denied, that the brothers were charged with exerting undue influence at this general election to procure the return of members in their interest: the opposition therefore was but very feeble, and the subsidy treaties with the queen of Hungary, the empress of Russia, the king of Sardinia, the electors of Mentz and Bavaria the prince of Hesse, and the duke of Wolfenbuttle were quietly voted, though the king in his speech from the throne had mentioned, that a congress would speedily be opened at Aix la Chapelle for the purpose of a general pacification between all the belligerent powers.

The congress accordingly took place in March 1748; and had to surmount a variety of difficul-

ties and obstructions, which the jarring interests of the contending parties had produced in the course of the negotiation, but these being finally adjusted; the preliminary articles of peace were signed on the 19th of April, and the definitive treaty on the 7th of October following.

But it was soon discovered by the discontented at home, that the British ministers had been too precipitate in signing, and they were charged with aiming rather at acquiring a reputation for address and dispatch, than endeavouring to render their work firm and durable. It was found, that no provision had been made by the treaty to secure the right of the British subjects to navigate in the American seas, without being subject to search from the Spanish guarda costas: and the disgraceful measure of sending two British noblemen to the court of France, to remain there, as hostages for the restitution of Cape Breton, threw the nation into such a ferment, that if the Pelhams had not made themselves secure, by forming a powerful interest gradually, before they took the lead in administration, they must have thrown up, as many of their predecessors had done, merely to silence the clamours of a rising faction, and the popular cry against them without doors.

As to the poor hostages, the earl of Suffex, and lord Cathcart, they were insulted in every practicable manner, and rendered so despicable in the eyes, not only of their own countrymen, but of the French subjects, that it is almost a wonder they could survive the mortifications they underwent.

The parliament met on the 29th of November, and warm addresses of congratulation on the peace were presented to the king; but it was evident the commons were in a different disposition with respect to the ministry, and by no means inclined to be so pliant

pliant as in the former session. The address of thanks for the speech met with a violent opposition; the measure of concluding the peace, while the Russians were on their march to join the Austrians, was loudly condemned; for it was said, that we might have dictated the terms of the peace, and have obtained great advantages for our allies, if this junction of the two armies had previously taken place. Intimations were likewise thrown out, that an enquiry would be set on foot as to the causes which had rendered the events of the war so little answerable to the prodigious expence incurred, and the known valour of the British troops; but these menaces produced no motion, and the address was carried in the end, without a division.

However, when the house proceeded to the estimate of the supply for the service of the year 1749, though a reduction had been made both of the land and sea forces, upon the peace, they found that the sums absolutely necessary to make good the engagements of parliament to the king; for the services performed in the prosecution of the war; for discharging arrears, and making good deficiencies; would amount, in the whole, to 8,000,000*l.* an amazing burthen upon the public; which gave occasion to the opposition to treat Mr. Pelham with great severity, as the author of all the debts and incumbrances with which the nation was loaded. Upon this occasion therefore, he shewed the strength of his connections; for the expediency of granting the above mentioned supply was maintained with all the strength of argument, and powers of oratory, by those able speakers, Mr. Pitt, now earl of Chatham, and Mr. Murray, the present lord Mansfield; whose speeches contributed, in a great measure, to turn the scale, and prevent any division upon the question.

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This struggle being got over, and the people beginning to be more reconciled to the peace, the administration was firmly rooted, and in the course of the summer, the brothers promoted a very popular measure, which had in view the extension of our commerce, and was in general well received: this was, the cultivation and improvement of the long-neglected settlement of Nova Scotia; great encouragement was given to soldiers, seamen, and artificers, to embark for this colony; and as it took off a great number of disorderly persons in the army and navy, who generally take to a bad course of life after a peace, it was considered as a very political, as well as a very beneficial regulation. The late earl of Halifax, then at the head of the board of trade and plantations, discovered great abilities, and a thorough knowledge of the commercial interests of his country upon this occasion, and the active part he took in carrying the scheme into immediate execution, was commemorated by giving his name to the first town built by the new settlers, who arrived safe at Nova Scotia, and marked out the plan of Halifax, in the month of July of this year.

Though the settlement of this valuable colony swelled the estimate of the supply for 1750, yet Mr. Pelham met with no opposition in parliament, for he had now brought to maturity a scheme which had often been attempted, but had always miscarried; this was, a reduction of the interest on the national debt, without violating the faith of parliament, or affecting public credit. No opportunity could be more favourable than that in which he carried into execution this great finance-operation.

A great number of individuals at home had amassed princely fortunes by the war; and vast numbers

numbers of foreigners, during the troubles of Europe, had kept their money locked up, not knowing how to employ it to advantage with any degree of security. These all shewed an eagerness to vest their property in the English funds, and increased the number of purchasers so considerably, that the stocks rose, and it appeared that in reality, money came in so fast from all quarters, that the interest of it upon the best security was little more than 3 per cent. Mr. Pelham judiciously availed himself of this crisis, and moved for leave to bring in a bill for reducing the interest of the 4 per cent. annuities to $3\frac{1}{2}$ for seven years certain, and afterwards to 3 per cent. The minister took upon himself the whole stress of the debate on this important subject, and he so fully convinced the house, of the public advantages to be derived from the measure, that it was carried without much opposition, and the resolutions taken by the house thereupon were printed by way of advertisement to the proprietors of the 4 per cents, in the London gazette of November the 29th 1749. The few, who refused to subscribe, were paid off their principal and interest out of the sinking fund; and thus this great national saving was happily effected, and an addition of near 600,000*l.* per annum was made after 1750, to the produce of the sinking fund.

In the month of May 1751, another public event took place, which does honour to the administration of the brothers: this was the alteration of the style. A scheme projected by the earl of Macclesfield, but which, from the selfishness and prejudices of individuals, could never have been carried into execution, if the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham had not exerted the whole weight of their influence and interest in its support. The advantages to the trading part of the king's subjects, in their correspondence

dence with foreign merchants, was self evident; but the landed gentlemen were at first apprehensive of difficulties with regard to the expiration of leases, the payment of rents, &c. but the framers of the bill, having obviated every objection of this nature; by the great perspicuity of the provisions in the act, it passed with general approbation, and took place from the 1st day of January 1752, from which time, it was enacted, That that day should be deemed the first of every ensuing year, throughout all his majesty's dominions, and not the 25th of March, which had hitherto been considered as the first day of the year, in the dates of most covenants and contracts, as well mercantile as others; and many law suits, besides other inconveniences had arisen, from the disagreement of public courts and offices upon this point: some reckoning the year from the first of January, and others from the 25th of March, to the no small injury of private property.

The parliament rose very early this year, on account of the king's desire to visit his German dominions; his majesty having a favourite object in view, which was to carry the election of the archduke Joseph, the emperor's eldest son, to be king of the Romans. For this purpose he set out for Hanover the latter end of March, and took the duke of Newcastle with him, that he might be the better enabled to concert the proper measures for accomplishing this business. An electoral diet was soon called for this purpose, by the elector of Mentz, through the influence of the courts of Vienna and Hanover; but the king of Prussia and the elector of Cologne exerted themselves so effectually against the archduke, that the election did not take place.

It is supposed to have been during the course of this negotiation, that several considerable and wealthy foreign Jews got access to the duke of Newcastle,

castle, and proposed a general naturalization in England, of their people: finding encouragement, they wrote to their friends in England, to solicit Mr. Pelham on this subject; and as the most affluent amongst the English Jews were well known to the minister, from their subscribing constantly and largely to the annual schemes for raising the supplies during the late war, they pushed the matter home, and had the address to get their design supported by petitions from the clothing counties, representing the Jews as considerable exporters of our woollen manufactures; and recommending the proposed act “to permit persons professing the Jewish religion to be naturalized by parliament,” as a measure that would make many rich foreign Jews come over to England with their effects; and agreeable to the experience of former ages, they would certainly employ them in commerce, by which means our shipping would be increased, as well as the demand for our native manufactures. It is an eternal disgrace to the bench of bishops, that the bill was brought into the upper house first, and passed through it, without any opposition on their part; for however it might have been looked upon by self-interested traders, or uninformed temporal lords, the right reverend fathers must have known, that, by giving their assent to this act, they were destroying, as far as in them lay, the scripture prophecies: one of which is remarkably fulfilled and remains so to this day: “that the Jews should be a wandering people upon earth, but should never more be able to form a national establishment.”

Yet such was the latitude of this bill, that if the popular voice had not obliged the ministry to procure its repeal, in the very session ensuing that in which it was passed, the Jews from abroad, joining with those at home, might have got possession,
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in process of time, of two-thirds of the landed property of the kingdom; and we all experience, that legislation is in a great measure annexed to that property.

In the lower house it met with deserved opposition; petitions were presented against it by the city of London in their corporate capacity, and by the merchants and traders separately; they were heard by their counsel at the bar, and a violent debate ensued; but still the ministry carried the bill, by a considerable majority: however, they soon discovered their error, for the clamour was as violent as it was universal; and in the act abrogating this infamous statute, the grounds for the repeal are stated to be, "That occasion had been taken from the first law, to raise discontents, and to disquiet the minds of many of his majesty's subjects."

In the life of lord-chancellor Hardwicke we have noticed the marriage-act, which passed at the same time as the Jew-act; and occasioned likewise no small murmurings.

Though lord Hardwicke framed the bill, yet the principal promoter of it, wholly in the view of preventing clandestine marriages, was Mr. Pelham, and that from a domestic circumstance but little known, and therefore not mentioned in the annals of his time. At this period public breakfastings and balls in the mornings, at sundry houses of entertainment in the environs of London, were universally in vogue. The places most frequented by persons of distinction were, Ruckholt-house, in Essex, and Putney bowling-green-house; but as the company could not fail of being miscellaneous, where money was taken at the door, it so happened, that a sharper danced with the earl of Tileney's sister at Ruckholt-house, engaged her affections, and was on the point of being clandestinely married

married to the lady, when fortunately his character was discovered. Nearly the same event happened to Miss Pelham, sister to Mr. Henry Pelham, and the duke of Newcastle; this lady found an amiable partner at Putney bowling-green-house, with whom she frequently danced, and from thence an intimacy commenced, which terminated in a declaration of love on the part of the young gentleman, which was so favourably received by Miss Pelham, that she invited him to her brother's house, where he made her several visits, and had absolutely gained her consent to marry him; when a general officer accidentally paying her a visit one afternoon, while the gallant was there, directly knew him to be Maclean, the famous highwayman, who had robbed him twice on the highway: an explanation ensued, the adventurer retired with great precipitation; and the general, finding that his discovery did not make that strong impression upon Miss Pelham's mind, which might have been expected, flew to Mr. Pelham, and laid the whole matter before him, which animated the minister to promote the marriage-act, an act as impolitic, as it is unpopular: had it been confined to the higher ranks of life, the inconveniences of clandestine marriages might have been provided against, without laying such an injudicious restraint on the marriages of the common people, which, in a commercial country, ought to meet with all possible encouragement from the legislature.

This was the last public business worthy our notice in which Mr. Henry Pelham was concerned; for no material transaction happened in the session of parliament opened on the 15th of Nov. 1753; and in the beginning of March 1754, this able statesman died, sincerely lamented by his sovereign, and regretted by the nation, who readily forgave his

his few errors, in consideration of his integrity, disinterestedness, and candour.

The duke of Newcastle succeeded his brother as first lord of the treasury, and Sir Thomas Robinson received the seals of the secretary of state held by his grace. The office of chancellor of the exchequer was soon after conferred on Mr. Legge. Lord chief-justice Lee dying likewise, in the course of the summer, Sir Dudley Rider was promoted to his vacant seat; and Mr. Murray, the duke of Newcastle's great friend, was made attorney-general.

The French this year, having increased the encroachments they had been gradually making on the British subjects, in the back settlements of North America, and the court of Versailles having given only evasive answers to the complaints made on that subject, the duke of Newcastle in council advised coercive measures; in consequence of which, peremptory orders were sent to the British governors, and to the commanders of our forces in those parts, to drive the French from their settlements on the river Ohio. Thus the war of 1756 was commenced on our part, by way of reprisals for hostilities committed by the French long before, in direct violation of the treaty of peace; but, contrary to that general candour and integrity, for which the British nation has been remarkable in all her transactions with foreign powers, the customary formality of declaring war was unjustifiably delayed; and, in the autumn of 1755, when France least expected such a blow, a resolution was taken in council, to seize all French ships, whether merchant-men or men of war, and to bring them into the British ports: the policy and spirit of this measure was highly applauded by the nation in general, the people being fired with resentment at the perfidious

fidious conduct of the court of France, in authorising hostilities and encroachments in North America; but still it was an act of piracy, highly unbecoming the dignity of this nation: while it was complaining of injustice, it proceeded to countenance it, by being guilty of the same treachery. The trading subjects of every country, by the law of nations, should be apprised of an absolute rupture between their respective sovereigns, by an open declaration of war. It had been the custom of Europe, as well as the law of all civilized nations, till this bad precedent was made; and though it deprived France of the means of manning their navy, and enriched our people, yet it can never be justified, nor can any advantages derived from it indemnify the nation for the future consequences of having given such an example to the maritime states of Europe.

The court of Versailles now perceived their error too late, and began to mediate a reconciliation, by applying to several neutral powers for that purpose; and they even carried on such an appearance of moderation, as to release an English frigate taken by one of their men of war, having on board Mr. Lyttelton, governor of Carolina, who was going to his government; at the same time, however, they made every necessary preparation for war, and lined their coasts opposite England with troops and transports, as if they meditated an invasion. The British ministry on their part exerted themselves with uncommon ardour and dispatch, sending fleets and armies to all our settlements in Asia, and America; and forming alliances and subsidiary treaties with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the empress of Russia.

On the 13th of November the parliament met, when the treaty with Hesse Cassel for troops, intended

tended to be employed for the defence of Hanover, was vehemently opposed in the house of lords, by the earl of Temple and others, as involving the nation in a continental quarrel and expence for the defence of the king's dominions, not belonging to the crown of Great Britain; but the treaty was in the end, approved by a great majority. In the lower house, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge opposed the treaty with masterly arguments; and Sir Thomas Robinson, on whom the minister relied for its defence in that house, wanted abilities for the duties of his high station at this critical juncture; and, therefore, he was removed, though the motion for approving the treaty by an address of thanks was carried by a great majority.

Mr. Fox succeeded Sir Thomas Robinson: Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Legge, disgusted at these foreign treaties, and the alteration in the ministry, resigned; and many of Mr. Fox's friends being introduced into different departments of the government, this was called the new administration, with Mr. Fox at their head. However, the controuling direction of public affairs, both at home and abroad, was pretty equally divided between the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Fox, to whom the lord chancellor was occasionally joined as a coadjutor; the rest of the members of this administration were merely ostensible ministers. And now a succession of mismanagement, of blunders, and of misfortunes, disgraced the nation, and stirred up a general indignation against the duke and Mr. Fox. Informations had been sent from general Blakeney to Mr. Fox, of the design of the French to attack Minorca, so early as the 7th of February 1756; and advising the ministry to send him such assistance as might enable him to put that island in a proper state of defence with all speed. These hints they
totally

totally disregarded, being so destitute of good intelligence from France, that they believed all the preparations of that court were destined for the invasion of Great Britain; and under colour of protecting the kingdom against this idle project; they advised his majesty to send for a body of Hessian troops; and in a few days after, Mr. Fox moved the house of commons for an address to the king, desiring his majesty to send for twelve battalions of his electoral troops, which was carried, but not without great opposition; and such expedition was used, that, before the end of May, both the Hessians and the Hanoverians arrived, and were encamped in different parts of England. The people in general, were highly exasperated to see Great Britain reduced to such distress, as to be obliged to commit the custody of their lives and fortunes to foreign auxiliaries, while a scheme for raising a national militia, brought into the house early in the session by Mr. Charles Townshend, had been rejected. By this time, certain advice was received from France, that the Toulon fleet was destined for Minorca, but the ministry were still ignorant of its force. However, a fleet was prepared, and set sail from Spithead on the 7th of April, under the command of admiral Byng, having on board a regiment of foot for Gibraltar, and reinforcements for the garrison of Minorca: but, owing to contrary winds and calms, his fleet did not arrive at Gibraltar till the 2d of May, and there he was informed that the French had already got possession of all Minorca, except the castle of St. Philip; and that the Toulon squadron consisted of 12 ships of the line, instead of 8, which was all, it was said by the ministry, they could possibly put to sea; and therefore they gave admiral Byng only 10; the event of his unfortunate expedition is too well known to require

require a recital ; we shall therefore only observe, that the loss of Minorca was wholly imputed, by the sensible part of the nation, to the neglect of the ministry ; and the sacrifice of the unfortunate admiral, intended to appease the popular clamour, only served to increase it.

Instructions were sent by a great number of corporations to their representatives, against the next session of parliament, requiring them to promote a strict scrutiny into the causes of the miscarriages of the war, and into the application of the large sums granted in the last session ; they were likewise enjoined to bring in a bill for the establishment of a regular militia, that the nation might not be indebted for her safety, on any extraordinary emergency, to foreign mercenaries. It was impossible to accomplish these designs without a change of the ministry, and therefore addresses, complaining of the mismanagement of public affairs, were promoted in all parts of the kingdom, and a great many were carried up to the throne ; and persons of all ranks publicly expressing their wishes to see the direction of affairs in other hands, his majesty desired the duke of Newcastle to resign for the present, that he might be enabled to gratify the views of those persons in opposition, who offered to take the reins of government, on condition only, that the friends they should nominate might be brought in with them : assuring his grace at the same time, that he should be reinstated, as soon as an opportunity should arise to propose a coalition of parties. Agreeable to this plan, the duke of Newcastle retired, and the duke of Devonshire was appointed first lord of the treasury, Mr. Legge was restored to his former post of chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of Sir George Lyttleton ; the earl of Temple was made first lord of the admiralty, instead of lord

Anson, and Mr. Fox resigned the seals of secretary of state to Mr. Pitt, the idol of the people, and that gentleman stipulated for the removal of lord chancellor Hardwicke, who, with a view of aggrandising his family, had lately taken too great a share in the politics of the cabinet.

The first object of the new ministry was to advise the king to send back the Hanoverian troops, the next was, to form a plan for pursuing more vigorous measures in the conduct of the war; and the third, to carry the militia bill into a law, all of which they effected between the month of November 1756, when they came into power, and the month of January 1757. An opposition however, was formed to this constitutional act without doors, and though all parts of the kingdom had sent up addresses to the throne, and instructions to the members of parliament to obtain a militia, while the German troops were in the kingdom; yet such is the influence of faction, that a few discontented men amongst the late discarded ministry, soon stirred up a general dislike to this military service, amongst the lower and middling classes of the people: the farmers were made to believe, they would be deprived of their servants, and a report was industriously propagated, that the militia-men would be sent out of the kingdom, either to Germany, to fight the battles of foreign princes, or to America, to defend the colonies. The late chancellor and his adherents were strongly suspected to be the fomenters of this disturbance; but, happily for the nation, those who had proposed this salutary law, had the resolution and ability to carry it into execution, in defiance of all opposition.

But though the faction against administration could not prevail to prevent this popular act, they had such influence in the council and the senate, that,

that, to the surprise of the whole nation, they fairly turned them out of office, in the midst of their assiduous endeavours to restore the honour and credit of the nation ; to lessen the public expences, by reducing the enormous salaries of the great officers, and by abolishing a number of useless places. What facilitated this sudden revolution at court was, the presuming behaviour of Mr. Pitt to the king ; this minister's conscious merit rendered him rude and arrogant in office ; he knew that his majesty harboured a prejudice against him, taken up when Mr. Pitt was a young man ; and relying too much on his popularity, he was not so condescending to his royal master, or so indulgent to his foibles, as his station, and the duty of a subject, required. The old ministry availed themselves of this mistake, to represent to the king, that he was enslaved by a haughty servant ; and they likewise impeded every good design of administration by their influence in the privy-council, and in the high departments of state, so that there was the utmost confusion in the public offices ; the inferiors refusing to obey the orders of the chiefs, till the king found it expedient to demand the seals of Mr. Pitt, in April ; the next day Mr. Legge resigned, and with him earl Temple. The office of chancellor of the exchequer was now put into the hands of lord Mansfield, *pro tempore* ; the nation was in a general alarm. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge received addresses of thanks from the city of London, with their freedom in gold boxes, as an honorary reward for their integrity and wisdom, during their short administration ; and both the king and the new ministry saw the impossibility of carrying on the war, in the present disposition of the people, without them.

With a noble and disinterested zeal for the honour of his sovereign, and the good of his country, lord Mansfield, with unwearied diligence, endeavoured to reconcile the chiefs of the contending parties, and by a general coalition to settle a permanent ministry, not liable to be harassed by opposition. His generous design took effect, a compromise was made, some of each party were taken into the public service; and the following arrangement gave universal satisfaction :

The duke of Newcastle was restored to his office of first lord of the treasury; Mr. Legge was reinstated chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Pitt was appointed principal secretary of state for the southern provinces, and was considered as the minister; lord Temple was made lord privy-seal, lord Anson presided again at the head of the admiralty; and Mr. Fox was appointed paymaster general; Sir Robert Henley, of Mr. Fox's party, was made keeper of the great seal; and the inferior offices of state were equally distributed amongst the friends of the duke of Newcastle, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox, the three political commanders in chief. This desirable event took place the latter end of June 1757.

All animosities now ceased, former mistakes were buried in oblivion, each department of administration exerted itself solely for the public good, which happy disposition produced the most glorious effects; and thus the duke of Newcastle had the unspeakable satisfaction to be restored to administration in time, to share the honours and applause which were bestowed by a grateful people, on a ministry whose unanimity, wisdom, and spirit, joined to the valour of our forces, by sea and land, raised this country to the highest pitch of human glory, between this

period and the year 1762; when a total change of the ministry took place, through the influence of the earl of Bute, who, upon Mr. Pitt's resignation in 1761, was made principal secretary of state; and from the moment he came into power had resolved, under the pretext of abolishing the party distinctions of whig and tory, absurdly to procure the dismissal from the royal service of the warmest friends of the house of Hanover; a measure which produced the utmost distraction in all the departments of the state, by the removals it occasioned, rendered it impossible to carry on the war with the same vigour and success that had constantly attended it during the administration of Mr. Pitt, and occasioned a precipitated, inglorious peace, inadequate in most respects, to the successes of the war, and the dignity of the crown. The new favourite artfully remained in the trifling post of groom of the stole, from the accession of his present majesty in 1760, till he found an opportunity of putting in practice the old Machiavelian maxim, Divide and rule: For this purpose, he employed two years in studying Mr. Pitt's character; and finding that the foible of that minister was impetuosity of temper, he strengthened his own interest in the cabinet, and obtained a full determination against Mr. Pitt on the affair of declaring war against Spain in 1761, upon certain intelligence he had received of the intentions of the court of Madrid to assist France. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge both resigned upon this occasion, and then the only obstacle to the possession of that plenitude of power the earl of Bute aimed at, was the duke of Newcastle. By his early zeal in favour of the protestant succession; by his liberality, in the public use he had made of a large fortune; by the favours, which in a course of many years, and in a succession of great offices in the state, he had been

enabled to confer on some of the first families in the kingdom; he had attached a powerful party to his interest, in the council, in parliament, and in the kingdom at large. In a word, he was considered as the head of the whigs, and he was beloved by the people for his magnificence, affability, and personal disinterestedness. It was therefore a bold undertaking to attempt the overthrow of this old servant, and faithful friend to the royal family: but ambition levels all obstructions.

During a great part of the last reign, the duke, his family and friends, had enjoyed the confidence of the sovereign, and the chief direction of public affairs. But his advanced age, and his situation, had prevented his having any opportunity to cultivate a personal interest with his present majesty. His continuance at the head of the treasury, after the accession, was therefore extremely precarious, because he did not possess the royal confidence; and the person who had it, considering that department as the chief seat of power, contrived to tire the patience of the duke, by repeated mortifications, till he was obliged to resign, and lord Bute was appointed first lord of the treasury, who soon cleared every department in the state, of the friends of the duke of Newcastle. His animosity, or want of political abilities, however, proved the bane of his own power; and his short-lived administration, which lasted little more than a year, was marked with violence and injustice; even clerks in office, whose salaries did not exceed 50*l.* per annum, were turned out of their employments, and left destitute of all provision, without so much as the shadow of any charge against them. This conduct, and the popular disapprobation of the peace, forced him to retire from all public business, towards the close of the year 1763; and the whigs saw themselves under a necessity

sity to revive the distinction between them and the tories with as much heat as ever, lord Bute having introduced and supported in power, many of the avowed enemies to the Hanover family, and to the protestant succession in that illustrious house.

In the year 1765, when the Rockingham administration was formed by the late duke of Cumberland, his royal highness advised them to strengthen their interest, by taking in the duke of Newcastle; his grace was accordingly appointed lord privy-seal, which he resigned the following year, to his old colleague in office, the earl of Chatham.

His grace now resolved to quit the court, and all public business, upon which occasion his majesty offered him a pension; but, though he had greatly injured his private fortune, by devoting great part of an income of 50,000 l. per annum, to the establishment of George I. he nobly refused to disgrace his birth and character, and scorned to become a burthen either to the king, or to the nation, as all pensioners are. His grace passed the remainder of his days in retirement, enjoying the company of his numerous friends, and the satisfaction of being considered as the most disinterested patriot of the present age.

In the year 1768 his health began visibly to decline, and he was soon thought to be in great danger; as his end approached, his attention to his devotions was constant and fervent, suitable to that unfeigned piety for which he had been distinguished throughout life. On the 17th of November, in the morning, he desired to receive the sacrament, which was administered to him by the bishop of Salisbury; and in a few hours after, he paid the debt of nature.

His grace dying without issue, the title of duke of Newcastle upon Tyne became extinct, but that

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of Newcastle under Line, conferred upon him in
1756, with remainder in the female line, devolved
to the present duke, who married Mr. Henry Pel-
ham's eldest daughter.

MEMOIRS OF
PHILIP DORMER STANHOPE,
Earl of CHESTERFIELD.

[A. D. 1695, to 1773.]

FEW characters, within the memory of the pre-
sent generation, have been more admired than
that of the celebrated nobleman, of whom we are
now to give concise memoirs, in order to bring
this work to a regular conclusion. It is with pleasure
we likewise inform the reader, that an ample life
of lord Chesterfield is in the press, which, though
it does not preclude the necessity of our giving
some account of him, will apologise for its defects;
as our materials are taken from what has already
appeared in print; and the separate life promised
to the public is compiled by the ingenious and
learned Dr. Maty, from authentic documents.

His lordship was descended from a family of
great antiquity, and his father married a daughter
of the celebrated marquis of Halifax; he was the
eldest of four sons, and born in the year 1695.

At an early age, this young nobleman, then
styled lord Stanhope, was sent to Cambridge,
where he remained three years; and having taken
up

up the degree of bachelor of arts, he left the university, being then about nineteen years of age. By his lordship's own account in his writings, his knowledge was at this time confined to scholastic learning, in which he had made a considerable progress; but in polite literature he esteemed himself deficient. "When he talked best, he quoted Horace; when he aimed at being facetious, he quoted Martial; and when he had a mind to be a fine gentleman, he talked Ovid. He was convinced that none but the ancients had common sense, and that the classics contained every thing that was either necessary, useful, or ornamental." In the first parliament of George I. he was elected a burges for St. Germaine in Cornwall, and in the next, for Lestwithiel in the same county. He tells us, "that he spoke in parliament the first month he was in it, and from the day he was elected, to the day he spoke, thought and dreamed of nothing but speaking."

By a few months residence at the Hague, in the interval between his leaving the university and the meeting of parliament, he had worn off the rust of college pedantry; frequenting the court, introducing himself into the best company, attentively studying, and imitating the free, unaffected air, manners, and conversation of people of the first distinction, and amongst these, of such as were remarkable for their politeness, were the means he made use of to familiarise himself to the great world. To a strong desire of pleasing, he added a fund of good humour, and great vivacity. With these qualifications he entered the senate-house; and it was soon discovered that he possessed talents to render him conspicuous; for his eloquence was masterly, his sentiments patriotic, and his address peculiarly engaging.

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On patriotic principles he espoused the cause of George I. and stood foremost in the ranks of those loyal subjects who tendered their lives and fortunes in support of his person and government against the designs of the pretender and his adherents. Such conduct, and such talents, could not remain unnoticed by the court; and the first mark of royal favour conferred upon him, sufficiently demonstrated that the king had a most favourable opinion of his abilities; for he was made one of the lords of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales, afterwards George II. In this station he continued, after a disagreement had arisen between the king and the prince in the year 1717; and the prince retaining him in his service, after his royal highness had been forbid the court, lord Stanhope did not receive any further token of the king's esteem till 1723, when he was appointed captain of the yeomen of the guard. In 1726, he succeeded to the title and peerage of earl of Chesterfield, on the demise of his father, and in the course of the following year, soon after the accession of George II. he was sworn in one of his majesty's privy council.

In the year 1728, his lordship was appointed ambassador extraordinary to the states-general, which high station he supported with the greatest dignity; and being vested with plenipotentiary powers, he carried on, and accomplished important negotiations equally beneficial to his own country, and satisfactory to the states general; who, during the two years he resided at their court, held him in the highest esteem, and manifested their regard to his person as well as his character, by every mark of respect and attention in their power.

Upon his return to England in 1730, he was elected a knight companion of the noble order of the garter,

garter, and appointed steward of the household; and the same year, he went back to the Hague, with his former character. The following winter, in consequence of some misrepresentation of his conduct, as lord steward of the household, soon after his return from the Hague, a misunderstanding arose between his lordship and the king, which ended in his resignation of that office; and he retired to his country seat in Derbyshire. But when the parliament sat, he constantly attended his duty, and tho' for the present, he gave up all thoughts of further promotion at court, he did not enter into any party, nor oppose the measures of administration, except when he was clearly convinced that they militated against the honour and interest of his country.

About the same time his lordship married lady Melosina de Schulenberg, countess of Wallingham, the natural daughter of George I. by the dutchess of Kendal and Munster.

In the session of parliament in 1733, his lordship distinguished himself by the active part he took in all the important business of that interesting period. In a warm debate, he opposed the reduction of the army: he strenuously opposed the excise bill; he supported the motion for ordering the directors of the south-sea company to deliver in an account of the disposal of the forfeited estates of the infamous directors in 1720; and upon the failure of another motion, to appoint a committee to examine into the management of the affairs of that company ever since the year 1720, he drew up and entered a spirited protest, which was signed by several other lords.

In the spring of the year 1734, the duke of Marlborough brought a bill into the house of peers, to prevent officers of the army being deprived of their commissions, otherwise than by sentence of a court

martial; at the same time, the duke moved for an address to his majesty, to know who advised him to deprive the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham of their regiments, for having voted in parliament against the measures of the ministry. Lord Chesterfield warmly seconded the motion, and supported the bill; but they were both rejected by a great majority. In the following session, he took the part of the six Scotch noblemen who presented a petition to the house of peers, complaining of an undue election of the sixteen peers to sit in parliament, and maintained their claim with uncommon spirit.

In 1737, lord Chesterfield gave great disgust to the court, by a masterly speech in favour of the motion to address his majesty to settle 100,000*l.* per annum on his royal highness Frederick prince of Wales; and upon its failure, he entered his protest. But his most remarkable speech in this session was, against the bill for subjecting plays to the inspection and licence of the lord chamberlain. Upon this occasion his lordship displayed all the powers of oratory, though without success. He considered it as a restraint upon the liberty of the press, and a violation of the rights of the subject. The composition of this speech has been highly extolled, as the standard of a correct style, and of masterly eloquence, for which reason it has been copied into such memoirs of his life as are extant; and therefore, lest he should incur the censure of negligence, the editor will follow the examples before him, though he confesses he has not that very high opinion of this piece, which some writers have expressed. Perhaps a judicious critic will be able to discover striking defects in the political principles, as well as in the language of this oration, which is far from being a perfect model of purity and elegance of style

It is necessary to premise, that the bill was brought into the lower house by Sir Robert Walpole, who had got into his possession the manuscript of a comedy designed for the stage, which was replete with the bitterest sarcasms upon administration. The bill was calculated to prevent all personal satire against men in power for the future, and it was well contrived for the purpose, to subject all new pieces to a licence from an officer of the court, who, *ex officio*, must be in the interest of the minister. It passed the lower house by a majority of two to one; and in the upper house, upon the motion for committing it, after speaking of the precipitancy with which the bill had passed the house of commons, and of its being pushed into an empty house of lords at the end of the session, his lordship thus proceeds:

"I have gathered from common talk, while this bill was moving in the lower house, that a play was offered to the theatre, in order to be exhibited, which, if my account be right, was truly of a most scandalous and flagitious nature. What was the effect? why, the manager, to whom it was offered, not only refused to act it, but carried it to a certain person in the administration, as a sure method to have it suppressed. Could this be the occasion of the bill? surely, no. The caution of the players could never occasion a law to restrain them: it is an argument in their favour, and a very material one, in my opinion, against the bill. It is to me a proof, that the laws are not only sufficient to deter them from acting what they know would offend, but also to punish them in case they should do it.

"My lords, I must own, I have observed of late a remarkable licentiousness on the stage. There were two plays acted last winter (Pasquin and Charles I.) that one would have thought should have given the greatest offence, and yet they were
suffered

suffered without any censure whatever. In one of these plays, the author thought fit to represent religion, physic, and the law, as inconsistent with common sense. The other was founded on a story, very unfit for theatrical entertainment at this time of day; a story so recent in the minds of Englishmen, and of so solemn a nature, that it ought to be touched upon only in the pulpit. The stage may want regulation, the stage may have it; and yet be kept within bounds, without a new law for that purpose.

“ Every unnecessary restraint on licentiousness is a fetter upon the legs, is a shackle on the hands of liberty. One of the greatest blessings we enjoy, one of the greatest blessings a people can enjoy, is liberty,—but every good in this life has its alloy of evil. Licentiousness is the alloy of liberty. It is an ebullition, an excrescence. It is a speck upon the eye of the political body, which I can never touch but with a gentle, with a trembling hand, lest I destroy the body, lest I injure the eye upon which it is apt to appear. If the stage becomes at any time licentious; if a play appears to be a libel upon the government, or upon any particular man, the king's courts are open, the laws are sufficient for punishing the offender, and, in this case, the person injured has a singular advantage; he can be under no difficulty to prove who is the publisher, and there can be no want of evidence to convict him. But, my lords, suppose it true, that the laws now in being are not sufficient for putting a check to, or preventing the licentiousness of the stage; suppose it absolutely necessary some new laws should be made for that purpose; yet it must be granted, that such a law ought to be maturely considered, and every clause, every sentence, nay, every word of it well weighed and examined, lest, under some of those methods presumed, or pre-
tended

tended to be necessary for restraining licentiousness, a power should lie concealed, which might be afterwards made use of for giving a dangerous wound to liberty. Such a law ought not to be introduced at the close of a session, nor ought we in the passing of such a law to depart from any of the forms prescribed by our ancestors for preventing deceit and surprise. There is such a connection between licentiousness and liberty, that it is not easy to correct the one, without dangerously wounding the other. It is extremely hard to distinguish the true limit between them. Like a changeable silk we can easily see there are two different colours, but we cannot easily discover where the one ends or the other begins. There can be no great and immediate danger from the licentiousness of the stage. I hope it will not be pretended, that our government may, before next winter, be overturned by such licentiousness, even, though our stage were at present under no sort of legal controul. Why then may we not delay, till next session, passing any law against the licentiousness of the stage? Neither our government can be altered nor our constitution overturned by such a delay; but, by passing a law rashly and unadvisedly, our constitution may at once be destroyed, and our government rendered arbitrary? Can we then put a small, a short-lived, inconvenience, in the balance with perpetual slavery? Can it be supposed, that a parliament of Great Britain will so much as risk the latter for the sake of avoiding the former? Surely, my Lords, this is not to be expected, were the licentiousness of the stage much greater than it is, were the insufficiency of our laws more obvious than can be pretended; but, when we complain of the licentiousness of the stage, and of the insufficiency of our laws, I fear we have more reason to complain of bad measures in our polity,

polity, and a general decay of virtue and morality among the people. In public as well as private life, the only way to prevent being ridiculed, or censured, is to avoid all ridiculous or wicked measures, and to pursue such only as are virtuous and worthy. The people never endeavour to ridicule those they love and esteem, nor will they suffer them to be ridiculed: if any one attempts it, the ridicule returns upon the author; he makes himself only the object of public hatred and contempt. The actions or behaviour of a private man may pass unobserved, and consequently unapplauded, uncensured; but the actions of those in high stations can neither pass without notice, nor without censure and applause; and therefore an administration, without esteem, without authority among the people, let their power be never so great, let their power be never so arbitrary, will be ridiculed. The severest edicts, the most terrible punishments, cannot entirely prevent it.

“ If any man therefore thinks he has been censured, if any man thinks he has been ridiculed, upon any of our public theatres, let him examine his actions, he will find the cause; let him alter his conduct, he will find a remedy. As no man is perfect, as no man is infallible, the greatest may err, the most circumspect may be guilty of some piece of ridiculous behaviour. It is no licentiousness, it is an useful liberty, always indulged the stage in a free country, that some great men may there meet with a just reproof, which none of their friends will be free enough, or rather faithful enough to give them. When a man has the misfortune to incur the hatred or contempt of the people, when public measures are despised, the audience will apply what never was, what could not be designed as a satire on the present times. Nay, even though
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the people should not apply, those who are conscious of guilt, those who are conscious of the wickedness or weakness of their own conduct, will take to themselves what the author never designed. A public thief is as apt to take the satire, as he is apt to take the money, which was never designed him. We have an instance of this in the case of a famous comedian of the last age; a comedian who was not only a good poet, but an honest man, and a quiet and good subject. The famous Moliere, when he wrote his *Tartuffe*, which is certainly an excellent and a good moral comedy, did not design to satyrize any great man of that age; yet a great man in France at that time took it to himself, and fancied the author had taken him as a model, for one of the principal, and one of the worst characters in that comedy. By good luck, he was not the licenser, otherwise the kingdom of France had never had the pleasure, the happiness I may say, of seeing that play acted; but, when the players first proposed to act it at Paris, he had interest enough to get it forbid. Moliere, who knew himself innocent of what was laid to his charge, complained to his patron the prince of Conti, that, as his play was designed only to expose hypocrisy, and a false pretence of religion, it was very hard it should be forbid being acted, when, at the same time, they were suffered to expose religion itself every night, publicly, on the Italian stage. To which the prince wittily answered, 'It is true, Moliere, Harlequin ridicules heaven, and exposes religion; but you have done much worse; you have ridiculed the first minister of religion.' My lords, the proper business of the stage, and that for which only it is useful, is to expose those vices and follies, which the laws cannot lay hold of; and to recommend those beauties and virtues, which ministers and courtiers seldom

dom either imitate or reward; but by laying it under a licence, and under an arbitrary court licence too, you will, in my opinion, entirely prevent its use; for though I have the greatest esteem for that noble duke in whose hands this power is at present designed to fall; though I have an entire confidence in his judgment and impartiality; yet I may suppose, that a leaning towards the fashions of a court is sometimes hard to be avoided. It may be very difficult to make one who is every day at court believe that to be a vice or folly, which he sees daily practised by those he loves and esteems. By custom, even deformity itself becomes familiar, and at last agreeable.—To such a person, let his natural impartiality be never so great, that may appear to be a libel against the court which is only a most just and a most necessary satire upon the fashionable vices and follies of the court.—Courtiers, my lords, are too polite to reprove one another; the only place where they can meet with any just reproof, is a free, though not a licentious stage; and as every sort of vice and folly, generally in all countries, begins at court, and from thence spreads through the country, by laying the stage under an arbitrary court licence, instead of leaving it what it is, and always ought to be, a gentle scourge for the vices of great men and courtiers, you will make it a canal for propagating and conveying their vices and follies through the whole kingdom. From hence, my lords, I think it must appear, that the bill now before us cannot so properly be called a bill for restraining the licentiousness, as it may be called a bill for restraining the liberty of the stage, and for restraining it too, in that branch which in all countries has been the most useful; therefore, I must look upon the bill as a most dangerous incroachment upon liberty in general. Nay farther, my lords,

lords, it is not only an incroachment upon liberty, but it is likewise an incroachment on property.

“ Wit, my lords, is a sort of property of those that have it, and too often the only property they have to depend on. It is indeed but a precarious dependance. Thank God ! we, my lords, have a dependance of another kind ; we have a much less precarious support, and therefore cannot feel the inconveniences of the bill now before us ; but it is our duty to encourage and protect wit, whosoever’s property it may be. Those gentlemen who have any such property are all I hope our friends : Do not let us subject them to any unnecessary, or arbitrary restraint. I must own I cannot easily agree to the laying any tax upon wit ; but by this bill it is to be heavily taxed, it is to be excised ; for, if this bill passes, it cannot be retailed in a proper way, without a permit ; and the lord chamberlain is to have the honour of being chief-gauger, supervisor, commissioner, judge and jury. But what is still more hard, though the poor author, the proprietor, I should say, cannot perhaps dine till he has found out and agreed with a purchaser ; yet, before he can propose to seek for a purchaser, he must patiently submit to have his goods rummaged at this new excise-office, where they may be detained for fourteen days, and even then he may find them returned as prohibited goods, by which his chief and best market will be for ever shut against him, and that without any cause, without the least shadow of reason either from the laws of his country, or the laws of the stage. These hardships, this hazard, which every gentleman will be exposed to, who writes any thing for the stage, must certainly prevent every man of a generous and free spirit from attempting any thing in that way ; and, as the stage has always been the proper channel for wit and humour,

mour, therefore, my lords, when I speak against this bill, I must think I plead the cause of wit, I plead the cause of humour, I plead the cause of the British stage, and of every gentleman of taste in the kingdom. But it is not, my lords, for the sake of wit only; even for the sake of his majesty's lord chamberlain, I must be against this bill. The noble duke, who has now the honour to execute that office, has, I am sure, as little an inclination to disoblige as any man; but if this bill passes, he must disoblige, he may disoblige some of his most intimate friends. It is impossible to write a play, but some of the characters, or some of the satire, may be interpreted, so as to point at some person or another, perhaps at some person in an eminent station. When it comes to be acted, the people will make the application, and the person against whom the application is made will think himself injured, and will, at least privately, resent it. At present this resentment can be directed only against the author; but, when an author's play appears with my lord chamberlain's passport, every such resentment will be turned from the author, and pointed directly against the lord chamberlain, who by his stamp made the piece current. What an unthankful office are we therefore by this bill to put upon his majesty's lord chamberlain! an office which can no way contribute to his honour or profit, and yet such a one as must necessarily gain him a great deal of ill-will, and create him a number of enemies. The last reason I shall trouble your lordships with for my being against the bill, is, that in my opinion, it will no way answer the end proposed. I mean, the end openly proposed, and, I am sure, the only end which your lordships proposed. To prevent the acting of a play, which has any tendency to blasphemy, immorality, sedition, or private scandal, can signify nothing, unless you can likewise

likewise prevent its being printed and published. On the contrary, if you prevent its being acted, and admit of its being printed and published, you will propagate the mischief, your prohibition will prove a bellows, which will blow up the fire you intend to extinguish. This bill can therefore be of no use for preventing either the public or the private injury intended by such a play; and consequently can be of no manner of use, unless it be designed as a precedent, as a leading step towards another, for subjecting the press likewise to a licenser: For such a wicked purpose, it may indeed, be of great use; and, in that light, it may most properly be called a step towards arbitrary power. Let us consider, my lords, that arbitrary power has seldom or never been introduced into any country at once: it must be introduced by slow degrees, and as it were step by step, lest the people should perceive its approach. The barriers and fences of the people's liberty must be plucked up one by one, and some plausible pretences must be found for removing or hood-winking, one after another, those sentries, who are posted by the constitution of every free country, for warning the people of their danger. When these preparatory steps are once made, the people may then, indeed, with regret, see slavery and arbitrary power making long strides over their land, but it will then be too late to think of preventing or avoiding the impending ruin. The stage, my lords, and the press, are two of our out-sentries; if we remove them, if we hood-wink them, if we throw them into fetters, the enemy may surprize us. Therefore, I must look upon the bill now before us as a step, and a most necessary step too, for introducing arbitrary power into this kingdom. It is a step so necessary, that, if any future ambitious king or guilty minister, should form to himself so wicked

wicked a design, he will have reason to thank us for having done so much of the work to his hand; but such thanks, or thanks from such a man, I am convinced every one of your lordships would blush to receive, and scorn to deserve."

In the ensuing session of parliament, great complaint was made of the depredations committed by the Spaniards on the British subjects trading to South America; when this affair was before the house of lords, the earl of Chesterfield, with his usual eloquence and patriotism, advised the most vigorous measures to procure satisfaction from the court of Madrid; and, considering our navy as the natural strength of the kingdom, he voted against the proposed augmentation of the army. The dispute with Spain being settled in 1739, by a convention, which his lordship deemed dishonourable and injurious to his country, he opposed the address of thanks to the king, which the ministry wanted to push through both houses with precipitation; and he was one of the forty peers who protested against it: in the lower house it met with a stronger mark of disapprobation, for it occasioned the famous *secession*; that is to say, a great number of the members, finding the majority determined at all events to pass the address, retired into the country, and left the remaining business of the session to be transacted by the friends of administration alone; absolutely refusing to give any further attendance till the next session.

In the winter of the same year, it was discovered that the patriotic party were in the right, for, advantageous as the convention was to Spain, that court did not adhere to it; and the ministry found themselves under a necessity to advise a declaration of war. This event brought the opposition back to their duty in parliament and now the earl of
Chesterfield

Chesterfield inveighed against the misconduct of administration in their management of the outset of the war; and in particular, for advising his majesty to send a message for a supply to the lower house alone.

In the spring of the year 1740, and in the same session, his lordship took the lead in a long and violent debate upon the revival of the pension-bill; a bill intended to exclude pensioners of the crown from seats in the house of commons; but all the strength of argument made use of upon this occasion, by the ablest men in the kingdom, in both houses of parliament, proved ineffectual, the ministry having secured a majority to reject the bill.

Upon the meeting of a new parliament, on the 4th of December 1741, two different motions were made for addresses to the king on his speech from the throne. The one, by the duke of Argyll, carried in it oblique reflections on the ministry for the tardy ineffectual operations of the fleet against Spain, this was seconded in a nervous speech by lord Chesterfield; but the other, proposed by the earl of Holdernesse, was passed by a majority of twenty-eight votes. In the same session, he was a strong advocate for the bill to indemnify such persons as should give evidence in the course of the enquiry into the administration of the discarded minister, Sir Robert Walpole, then earl of Orford.

On the 16th of November 1742, the king opened the session of parliament by a speech, acquainting the two houses, that he had augmented the British forces in the low countries with 16000 Hanoverians; when this part of the speech came to be debated in the house of lords, upon the usual motion for an address of thanks, the earl of Chesterfield moved a previous question, for postponing the address of thanks; and in the month of February following,

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upon a motion made for dismissing the Hanoverian troops, he was very warm in its favour; and in the course of the debate, he let fall some expressions concerning the king's electoral dominions, which his majesty highly resented.

Towards the end of the same month, the bill for repealing the heavy duties that had been laid on spirituous liquors, and licenses for retailing those liquors, and for imposing others at an easy rate, (by some writers falsely called the gin act, whereas it was a repeal of that act) met with a strong opposition in the house of lords; but the ministry could devise no other expedient for increasing the public revenues, but by facilitating the consumption of spirituous liquors. Lord Chesterfield upon this occasion, to his usual force of reasoning, added the poignancy of satire, which he always had ready at command; amongst other things he said, that the ministry should be celebrated as the authors of the *drinking fund*; and there being ten bishops in the house, who all divided against the bill, his lordship, on their coming over to his side of the house, wittily told them, he was afraid he had mistaken his place, not having had the honour of their company for many years.

Lord Chesterfield continued in opposition to the chief measures of administration respecting the war, but more particularly against the employment of the Hanoverian forces, in the session of parliament which began on the 1st of December 1743; and in the month of April 1744, when it was certain that an invasion by the pretender was in great forwardness, the commons passed a bill for inflicting the penalties of high-treason upon those who should maintain a correspondence with the sons of the pretender: when this bill came into the house of peers, the lord chancellor Hardwicke moved, that
a clause

a clause should be inserted for continuing the penalty of treason upon the posterity of those who should be convicted of such correspondence: here lord Chesterfield appeared to be the friend to humanity, he argued against it, in the most pathetic manner, exposed it as an unworthy, illiberal expedient, repugnant to the precepts of religion, to the law of nations, and to the rules of common justice; and tending to involve the innocent with the guilty: the clause however was inserted; and being sent back to the lower house with this amendment, it was carried, after a long debate, in which Mr. Pitt, and some other members who had countenanced the original bill, voted against it.

At the close of this year, upon a change of the ministry, some of lord Chesterfield's friends urged the king to lay aside all animosity, out of regard to his great abilities, which were now wanted for his majesty's service, in a station which he had formerly filled with so much honour. Accordingly, his majesty was pleased once more to nominate the earl, his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the states general, and he embarked for the Hague on the 11th of January 1745. The object of his negotiation was, to engage the Dutch to enter heartily into the war, and to furnish their quota of troops and shipping. The Abbé de la Ville, on the part of France, was to prevent the Dutch from listening to these proposals; consequently the two ministers could not visit, but meeting accidentally in company, he desired a friend to introduce him to the Abbé, to whom he paid this polite compliment, "Though we are national enemies, I flatter myself we may be personal friends:" by this engaging address he established an easy intercourse between them, wherever they met. Having carried his point, he left the Hague, and arrived in London in May,

bringing with him a letter from their high mightinesses to the king, in which they highly extolled the ambassador; and his majesty being early informed of the prospect of his succeeding in this important affair, had nominated him, in his absence, lord lieutenant of Ireland, as a reward for this service.

Soon after his return home, it was thought expedient that he should go over to his new government, the court having received certain intelligence of the great preparations making on the coast of France to invade either Great Britain or Ireland. His administration in that country is to this hour a subject of grateful remembrance, by the inhabitants, and it gave such general satisfaction at that critical juncture, that most of the counties and chief cities exceeded the warmest expectations of the ministry at home, by entering into voluntary associations for the support of his majesty's person and government, against the designs of the pretender. In April 1746, he left Ireland, to the general regret of the whole nation, having had the address to make himself equally esteemed by the Roman catholics and the protestants.

On the 29th of October, this year, he succeeded the earl of Harrington in the office of one of the principal secretaries of state, and he held the seals till February 1748, when his health being greatly impaired, and his inclination for a private life gaining the ascendancy over the lures of ambition, he waited on the king, and desired leave to resign; his majesty granted his request in these words: "I will not press you, my lord, to continue in an office you are tired of, but I must insist on seeing you often, for you will ever live in my esteem." His lordship then went to Bath, for the recovery of his health, and on his return to town in the winter, he described the manner of life to which he intended to devote himself

himself for the future, in the following lines, which he ordered to be affixed on the most conspicuous part of his library:

*Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno & inertibus horis
Ducere sollicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ.*

Being seized with a deafness in the year 1752, which, to use his own words, "cut him off from society, at an age when he had no pleasures but those left," he made his eyes supply the defect of his ears, by amusing himself with his pen and his books; and at this time he contributed largely to the admired papers, intitled, *The WORLD*, conducted and published by Mr. Edward Moore and his literary associates.

His lordship had no issue by his lady, but he had a natural son by Madame du Boucher, a French lady, with whom he carried on a criminal intercourse for some years, chiefly during his residence at the Hague; this son, whose name was Philip Stanhope, as he grew up, became the chief object of his attention; and one cause of his lordship's resignation of all public employments was, that he might have the more leisure to correspond with him while he was on his travels. He could not leave his real estate to this youth, on account of his illegitimacy, and therefore he adhered to a plan of strict œconomy, in order to raise him a fortune.

The great pains he took to cultivate and improve his mind, and to form his manners, had not the desired effect; however, his lordship had interest to procure him the honourable employment of British resident at the court of Dresden; but all his labour and concern for this young gentleman became fruitless by his premature death, in 1768. Lord Chesterfield could not get over this severe blow, but from this time grew feeble and languid:

yet those flashes of wit and humour, for which he has been celebrated by all who knew him, at times broke forth from the clouds of melancholy in which he seemed enveloped. His old friend, Sir Thomas Robinson, who is above six feet high, telling him one day, that if he did not go abroad and take exercise, he would die by inches; the earl, drolly replied, "If that must be the case, then I am very glad I am not so tall as you, Sir Thomas."

About the latter end of the year 1772, his son's widow was ordered to visit him, and to bring with her his two grandsons; his lordship, upon this occasion, laid aside his crutch, with which he used to support himself, being then very lame, and attempted to advance to embrace the children, but he was no longer able to stand alone, and would have fallen, if a servant had not instantly succoured him: this affected him so much that he shed tears, but presently recollecting himself, he said, smiling,— "This is a fresh proof of my declension, I am not able to crawl without my three legs; the last part of the Sphynx's riddle approaches, and I shall soon end as I began, upon all fours."

His prediction was but too soon verified, for he lost the use of his limbs in a short time after, but he retained his senses almost to the last hour of his life. His lordship died on the 24th of March 1773.

His lordship's character is almost undefinable; he was certainly one of the greatest wits of the present age; but his flatterers have given him more reputation than any one man ever acquired for this talent. In his political character he was a patriot upon principle, yet the lust of power made him either lull asleep or forget those principles when in office. His public excellence lay chiefly in being an able negociator. But his politeness, affability,
and

and knowledge of the human heart, made him universally admired, and gave him the key to the secrets, as well as to the foibles of both sexes. In short, his amiable accomplishments rendered him the most fit person upon earth for an ambassador or a viceroy. His talents for oratory acquired him the title of the British Cicero; and his taste for learning and the polite arts, together with occasional liberalities to the professors, gained him that of the Mæcenæ of this country. But when we have allowed, that he was the accomplished courtier, the perfect gentleman, and the able senator, we could wish to close the scene, for the remaining part of his character does no honour to his memory. However, we are in duty bound to observe, that this admired nobleman paid little regard to those private obligations between man and man in society, which are the bonds of its happiness and tranquillity; his failure in these points of morality was conspicuous in his conduct in private life; and his letters to his son, which were published by that gentleman's widow after his lordship's death, and have been read with avidity, by almost all ranks of people, are a ratification of his immoral principles and practices; and his will, made at the close of his life, is a strong proof that his faculties had been for some time on the decline; for it is inconsistent, partial, and peevish; containing but one clause to distinguish it as the work of a man of genius, which is the following:—

“Satiated with the pompous follies of this life, of which I have had an uncommon share, I would have no posthumous ones displayed at my funeral, and therefore desire to be buried in the next burying-place to the place where I shall die.” This order was punctually obeyed, for he was buried privately in the vault under South Audley chapel,

being the nearest burying-place to Chesterfield-house, where he died.

* * *Authorities.* Doddsley's Annual Register 1774. Supplement to the Universal Magazine, Vol. LIV. Mortimer's Hist. of England, Vol. III.

MEMOIRS OF GEORGE, LORD LYTTTELTON.

[A. D. 1708, to 1773.]

THE late lord LYTTTELTON is the last of those illustrious personages, whose distinguished talents rendered them eminently useful to their country in public stations, and an ornament to society in private life; and who have paid the common debt of nature.—Great Britain, at this time, can make her boast of men of equal genius and abilities in every department of civil government. She has her statesmen, patriots, senators, judges, generals, and admirals, who may vie with the most exalted characters recorded in these volumes. The editor wishes they may long continue to adorn and serve their country; and with great pleasure consigns to some future compiler, the agreeable task of doing justice to their memories, which will furnish him with ample matter for extending THE BRITISH PLUTARCH beyond its present limits.

His lordship claimed descent from one of the most ancient families in this kingdom. His ancestors had possessions in the vale of Evesham, Worcester-

Worcestershire, in the reign of Henry III. particularly at South-Lyttelton, from which place some antiquarians have asserted they took their name. There were two grants of land belonging to Evesham-abbey in the possession of the late learned Mr. Selden, to which one John de Lyttelton was witness, in the year 1160. The great judge Lyttelton, in the reign of Henry IV. was one of this family, and from him descended Sir Thomas Lyttelton, father of the late peer, who was appointed a lord of the admiralty in the year 1727; which post he resigned many years afterwards, on account of the bad state of his health.

This gentleman married Christian, daughter to Sir Richard Temple, sister of the late lord viscount Cobham, and maid of honour to queen Anne, by whom he had six sons and six daughters, the eldest of which was George, afterwards created lord Lyttelton, who was born at Hagley, in Worcestershire, one of the most beautiful rural retirements in this kingdom, in the year 1708.

He received the elements of his education at Eaton-school, where he shewed an early inclination to poetry. His pastorals, and some other light pieces, were originally written in that seminary of learning, from whence he was removed to the university of Oxford, where he pursued his classical studies with uncommon avidity, and sketched the plan of his Persian letters, a work which afterwards procured him great reputation, not only from the elegance of the language in which they were composed, but from the excellent observations they contained on the manners of mankind.

In the year 1728, he set out on the tour of Europe, and, on his arrival at Paris, accidentally became acquainted with the honourable Mr. Poyntz, then our minister at the court of Versailles, who

was so struck with the extraordinary capacity of our young traveller, that he invited him to his house, and employed him in many political negotiations, which he executed with great judgment and fidelity.

The good opinion Mr. Poyntz entertained of Mr. Lyttelton's character and abilities is testified in a letter under his own hand to his father, in which he expresses himself as follows :

TO SIR THOMAS LYTTELTON, Bart.

SIR,

"I received your two kind letters, in which you are pleased very much to over value the small civilities it has lain in my power to shew Mr. Lyttelton. I have more reason to thank you, Sir, for giving me so convincing a mark of your regard, as to interrupt the course of his travels on my account, which will lay me under a double obligation to do all I can towards making his stay agreeable and useful to him; though I shall still remain the greater gainer, by the pleasure of his company, which no services of mine can sufficiently requite. He is now in the same house with me, and, by that means, more constantly under my eye than even at Soissons; but I should be very unjust to him, if I left you under the imagination, that his inclinations stand in the least need of any such ungenerous restraint: depend upon it, Sir, from the observation of one who would abhor to deceive a father in so tender a point, that he retains the same virtuous and studious dispositions, which nature and your care planted in him, only strengthened and improved by age and experience; so that, I dare promise you, the bad examples of Paris, or any other place, will never have any other effect upon him, but to confirm him in the right choice he has made. Under these

happy

happy circumstances he can have little occasion for any other advice, but that of sustaining the character he has so early got, and of supporting the hopes he has raised. I wish it were in my power to do him any part of the service you suppose me capable of. I shall not be wanting to employ him as occasion offers, and to assist him with my advice where it may be necessary, though your cares (which he ever mentions with the greatest gratitude) have made this task very easy. He cannot fail of making you and himself happy, and of being a great ornament to our country, if, with that refined taste and delicacy of genius, he can but recall his mind, at a proper age, from the pleasures of learning, and gay scenes of imagination, to the dull road and fatigue of business. This I have sometimes taken the liberty to hint to him, though his own good judgment made it very unnecessary. Though I have only the happiness of knowing you, Sir, by your reputation, and by this common object of our friendship and affection, your son; I beg you will be persuaded that I am, with the most particular respect,

SIR,

Your most humble

and obedient servant,

S. POYNTZ."

Mr. Lyttelton's conduct, while on his travels, was a lesson of instruction to the rest of his countrymen; instead of lounging away his hours at the coffee-houses frequented by the English, and adopting the fashionable follies and vices of France and Italy, his time was passed alternately in his library, and in the society of men of rank and literature. In this early part of his life, he wrote a poetical epistle to Dr. Ayscough, and another to Mr. Pope, which shew singular taste and correctness.

After continuing a considerable time at Paris with Mr. Poyntz, who, to use his own words, behaved like a second father to him, he proceeded to Lyons and Geneva, from thence to Turin, where he was honoured with great marks of friendship by his Sardinian majesty. He then visited Milan, Venice, Genoa, and Rome, where he applied himself closely to the study of the fine arts, and was, even in that celebrated metropolis, allowed to be a perfect judge of painting, sculpture, and architecture.

During his continuance abroad, he constantly corresponded with Sir Thomas, his father; several of his letters are yet remaining, and place his filial affection in a very distinguished light. He soon after returned to his native country, and was elected representative for the borough of Okehampton, in Devonshire, and behaved so much to the satisfaction of his constituents, that they several times re-elected him for the same place, without putting him to the least expence.

About this period, he received great marks of friendship from Frederick prince of Wales, father of his present majesty; and was, in the year 1737, appointed principal secretary to his royal highness, and continued in the strictest intimacy with him till the time of his death. His attention to public business did not, however, prevent him from exercising his poetical talent. A most amiable young lady, Miss Fortescue, inspired him with a passion, which produced a number of little pieces, remarkable for their tenderness and elegance; and he had a happy facility of striking out an extempore compliment, which obtained him no small share of reputation. One evening being in company with lord Cobham and several of the nobility at Stowe, his lordship mentioned his design of putting up a bust of lady Suffolk in his beautiful gardens; and, turning to
Mr.

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Mr. Lyttelton, said, George, you must furnish me with a motto for it. I will, my lord, answered Mr. Lyttelton, and directly produced the following couplet :

Her wit and beauty for a court were made,
But truth and goodness fit her for a shade.

When Mr. Pitt, the present earl of Chatham, lost his commission in the guards, in consequence of his spirited behaviour in parliament, Mr. Lyttelton was in waiting at Leicester-house, and, on hearing the circumstance, immediately wrote these lines :

Long had thy virtue mark'd thee out for fame,
Far, far, superior to a cornet's name ;
This generous Walpole saw, and griev'd to find
So mean a post disgrace that noble mind ;
The servile standard from thy freeborn hand
He took, and bad thee lead the patriot band.

In the year 1742, he married Lucy, the daughter of Hugh Fortescue of Filleigh, in the county of Devon, Esq; the lady above-mentioned, whose exemplary conduct, and uniform practice of religion and virtue, established his conjugal happiness upon the most solid basis.

In 1744, he was appointed one of the lords commissioners of the treasury, and during his continuance in that station, constantly exerted his influence in rewarding merit and ability. He was the friend and patron of the late Henry Fielding, James Thompson, author of the Seasons; Mr. Mallett, Dr. Young, Mr. Hammond, Mr. West, Mr. Pope, and Voltaire. On the death of Thompson, who left his affairs in a very embarrassed condition, Mr. Lyttelton took that poet's sister under his protection.

He revised the tragedy of *Coriolanus*, which that writer had not put the last hand to, and brought it out at the theatre-royal in Covent-garden, with a prologue of his own writing, in which he so affectingly lamented the loss of that delightful bard, that not only Mr. Quin, who spoke the lines, but almost the whole audience spontaneously burst into tears.

In the beginning of the year 1746, his felicity was interrupted by the loss of his wife, who died in the 29th year of her age, leaving him one son, Thomas, the present lord Lyttelton, and a daughter, Lucy, who some time since married lord viscount Valentia. The remains of his amiable lady were deposited at Over-Arley, in Worcestershire; and an elegant monument was erected to her memory in the church at Hagley, which contains the following inscription, written by her husband:

Made to engage all hearts, and charm all eyes:
 Though meek, magnanimous; tho' witty, wife;
 Polite, as all her life in courts had been;
 Yet good, as she the world had never seen;
 The noble fire of an exalted mind
 With gentlest female tenderness combin'd.
 Her speech was the melodious voice of love,
 Her song the warbling of the vernal grove;
 Her eloquence was sweeter than her song,
 Soft as her heart, and as her reason strong.
 Her form each beauty of her mind express'd,
 Her mind was virtue by the graces dress'd.

Beside these beautiful lines, Mr. Lyttelton wrote a monody on the death of his lady, which will be remembered while conjugal affection and a taste for poetry exist in this country.

His masterly observations on the conversion and apostleship of St. Paul were written at the desire of
 Gilbert

Gilbert West, Esq; in consequence of Mr. Lyttelton asserting, that, beside all the proofs of the Christian religion, which might be drawn from the prophecies of the old testament, from the necessary connection it has with the whole system of the Jewish religion, from the miracles of Christ, and from the evidence given of his resurrection by all the other apostles, he thought the conversion of St. Paul alone, duly considered, was of itself a demonstration sufficient to prove Christianity to be a divine revelation. Mr. West was struck with the thought, and assured his friend, that so compendious a proof would be of great use to convince those unbelievers, that will not attend to a longer series of arguments; and time has shewn he was not out in his conjecture, as the tract is esteemed one of the best defences of Christianity which has hitherto been published.

In 1754, he resigned his office of lord of the treasury, and was made cofferer to his majesty's household, and sworn of the privy council: Previous to which, he married, a second time, Elizabeth, daughter of field-marshal Sir Robert Rich, whose indiscreet conduct gave him great uneasiness, and from whom he was separated by mutual consent, a few years after his marriage.

After filling the offices of chancellor and under treasurer of the court of exchequer, he was, by letters patent, dated the 19th of November 1757, 31st of George II. created a peer of Great Britain by the style and title of lord Lyttelton, baron of Frankley, in the county of Worcester.

His speeches in both houses of parliament, upon sundry occasions, exhibit strong proofs of a genius superior to the generality of mankind, of sound judgment, of incorruptible integrity, of great goodness of heart, and of masterly elocution. But, above all, his oration in the house of commons on
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the motion for the repeal of the Jew bill, in the session of parliament of 1753, is so perfect a model of fine composition in our language, that it is intitled to a place in this work, on the strong probability that it may prove of singular utility to some of our young readers; and in this the editor follows a great example, that of the reverend Mr. Enfield, president of the academy at Warrington, in Lancashire, who, with great judgment, has published it in his *SPEAKER*, a selection of miscellaneous pieces, from our best English writers, properly classed; and has ranked it with the best orations of both ancients and moderns.

“ *MR. SPEAKER,*

“ I see no occasion to enter at present into the merits of the bill we past the last session for the naturalization of Jews; because I am convinced, that in the present temper of the nation, not a single foreign Jew will think it expedient to take any benefit of that act; and therefore the repealing of it is giving up nothing. I assented to it last year, in hopes it might induce some wealthy Jews to come and settle among us: in that light I saw enough of utility in it, to make me incline rather to approve than dislike it; but that any man alive could be zealous either for or against it, I confess I had no idea. What affects our religion, is indeed of the highest and most serious importance. God forbid we should ever be indifferent about that! but, I thought this had no more to do with religion than any turnpike-act we past in that session; and, after all the divinity that has been preached on the subject, I think so still.

“ *RESOLUTION* and *STEADINESS* are excellent qualities; but it is the application of them upon which their value depends. A wise government,
Mr,

Mr. Speaker, will know where to yield as well as where to resist : and there is no surer mark of littleness of mind in an administration, than obstinacy in trifles. Public wisdom, on some occasions, must give way to popular folly, especially in a free country, where the humour of the people must be considered as attentively, as the humour of a king in an absolute monarchy. Under both forms of government, a prudent and honest ministry will indulge a small folly, and will resist a great one. Not to vouchsafe now and then a kind indulgence to the former, would discover an ignorance of human nature : not to resist the latter at all times, would be meanness and servility.

“ Sir, I look on the bill we are at present debating, not as a sacrifice made to popularity (for it sacrifices nothing) but as a prudent regard to some consequences arising from the nature of the clamour raised against the late act for naturalizing Jews, which seem to require a particular consideration.

“ It has been hitherto the rare and envied felicity of his majesty’s reign, that his subjects have enjoyed such a settled tranquillity, such a freedom from angry religious disputes, as is not to be paralleled in any former times. The true Christian spirit of moderation, of charity, of universal benevolence, has prevailed in the people, has prevailed in the clergy of all ranks and degrees, instead of those narrow principles, those bigoted prejudices, that furious, that implacable, that ignorant zeal, which had often done so much hurt to the church and the state. But from the ill understood, insignificant, act of parliament you are now moved to repeal, occasion has been taken to deprive us of this inestimable advantage. It is a pretence to disturb the peace of the church, to infuse idle fears into the minds

minds of the people, and make religion itself an engine of sedition. It behoves the piety, as well as the wisdom of parliament to disappoint those endeavours. Sir, the very worst mischief that can be done to religion, is to pervert it to the purposes of faction. Heaven and hell are not more distant, than the benevolent spirit of the gospel, and the malignant spirit of party. The most impious wars ever made were those called holy wars. He, who hates another man for not being a Christian, is himself not a Christian. Christianity, Sir, breathes love, and peace, and good-will to man. A temper conformable to the dictates of that holy religion has lately distinguished this nation; and a glorious distinction it was. But there is latent, at all times, in the minds of the vulgar, a spark of enthusiasm, which, if blown by the breath of a party, may, even when it seems quite extinguished, be suddenly revived and raised to a flame. The act of last session for naturalizing Jews has very unexpectedly administered fuel to feed that flame. To what a height it may rise, if it should continue much longer, one cannot easily tell; but take away the fuel, and it will die of itself.

“It is the misfortune of all the Roman catholic countries, that there the church and the state, the civil power and the hierarchy, have separate interests, and are continually at variance one with the other. It is our happiness, that here they form but one system. While this harmony lasts, whatever hurts the church, hurts the state: whatever weakens the credit of the governors of the church, takes away from the civil power a part of its strength, and shakes the whole constitution.

“Sir, I trust and believe, that, by speedily passing the bill, we shall silence that obloquy, which has so unjustly been cast upon our reverend prelates,
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(some of the most respectable that ever adorned our church) for the part they took in the act which this repeals. And it greatly concerns the whole community, that they should not lose that respect, which is so justly due to them, by a popular clamour, kept up in opposition to a measure of no importance in itself. But if the departing from that measure should not remove the prejudice so maliciously raised, I am certain that no further step you can take will be able to remove it; and therefore, I hope you will stop here. This appears to be a reasonable and safe condescension, by which nobody will be hurt; but all beyond this, would be dangerous weakness in government. It might open a door to the wildest enthusiasm, and to the most mischievous attacks of political disaffection working upon that enthusiasm. If you encourage and authorise it to fall on the synagogue, it will go from thence to the meeting-house, and in the end to the palace. But let us be careful to check its further progress. The more zealous we are to support Christianity, the more vigilant should we be in maintaining toleration. If we bring back persecution, we bring back the anti-christian spirit of popery; and when the spirit is here, the whole system will soon follow. Toleration is the basis of all public quiet. It is a character of freedom given to the mind, more valuable, I think, than that which secures our persons and estates. Indeed, they are inseparably connected together: for, where the mind is not free, where the conscience is enthralled, there is no freedom. Spiritual tyranny puts on the galling chains; but civil tyranny is called in, to rivet and fix them. We see it in Spain, and many other countries; we have formerly both seen and felt it in England. By the blessing of God,

we

we are now delivered from all kinds of oppression. Let us take care, that they may never return."

This speech had its desired effect; the whole house was struck with the force of his lordship's arguments, and the repeal of the naturalization act took place without much opposition. One would have imagined that such conspicuous abilities for the public service should have paved the way to the first employments in the state; but without being able to account for it, we find his lordship after he was called up to the house of peers, totally divested of all public employment, and only exerting himself upon particular occasions in his parliamentary capacity.

The last speech which added to his great reputation, as a most able senator and complete orator, was delivered in the session of 1763, upon a debate concerning the privileges of parliament, in which he supported the dignity of the peerage with a depth of knowledge, that surprized the oldest peers present, who could not but wonder at the information they received on the subject of their rights and privileges from a peer of only six years creation, when those who had sat in the house, some twenty, some thirty years, were not able to give so good an account of them.

From about this period to that of his death, his lordship courted retirement; and, in the enjoyment of a select society of friends, he had an opportunity of exercising those literary talents for which he was so eminent: he now found leisure to correspond with many of his learned friends; and to finish his "Dialogues of the Dead," a most masterly performance, containing lessons of the purest morality, conveyed in a style and manner the best calculated at once to charm and instruct a mind virtuously disposed.

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In the month of July 1773, this accomplished nobleman was suddenly seized with an inflammation in his bowels, which turned to a mortification, and in a few days deprived the world of one of its most exalted characters. His last moments exhibited a pleasing, though an affecting scene, it was such as the exit of the great and good man alone can present: unimpaired understanding, unaffected greatness of mind, calm resignation, and humble, but confident hopes in the mercy of God, graced the dying accents of the Christian philosopher. He was succeeded in his title and estate, and we doubt not in his virtues, by his only son, Thomas, the present lord Lyttelton. A compleat collection of all his lordship's works have been published since his death in 3 volumes, 8vo. by his nephew, George Ayscough, Esq;

S U P.

SUPPLEMENT.

The LIFE of
DR. SAMUEL CLARKE.

[A. D. 1675, to 1735.]

WE cannot open this Supplement, which is to contain the lives of the most eminent men in private life, with more edifying or entertaining memoirs than those of a learned and conscientious divine, whose sentiments and conduct have been just revived, by some living divines of the church of England; who, like him, being unable to procure a long desired reformation of the doctrines and discipline of the church of England, have gone one step further, and have thrown up valuable benefices, that they might be at liberty to follow the dictates of their own consciences, and to teach the people what they conceive to be the pure doctrines of Christianity.

The reverend Mr. Lindsay set the example, and has not only established a new congregation in London, but has published a reformed liturgy upon the plan of the great divine, whose life we are now entering upon; and as a proof of our present happy national disposition, Mr. Lindsay has not suffered under any of those vexatious molestations, which the blind zeal of the bigoted prelacy and clergy threw

threw in the way of Dr. Clarke. The spirit of toleration, which is the true spirit of Christianity, is the characteristic of the present times; and to the honour of our present bench of bishops be it recorded, that they do not give countenance to the very few intemperate clergy, whose false zeal urges them from the pulpit, to attempt the revival of religious feuds, by inflammatory discourses, against the present reformers of the church of England.

Dr. SAMUEL CLARKE was born in the city of Norwich in 1675, and educated in the free-school of that place, under the care of the reverend Mr. Burton.

He was the son of Edward Clarke, Esq; alderman of that city, and one of its representatives in parliament for several years: a gentleman of an excellent natural capacity, and of untainted reputation for probity and virtue.

In 1691, Mr. Clarke sent his son to Caius-college, in Cambridge, to be under the tuition of Mr. afterwards Sir John Ellis. Here, his great genius and abilities soon discovered themselves: and, when he was little more than 21 years of age, he greatly contributed, both by his own example, and his excellent translation of, and notes upon, Rohaut's *Physicks*, to the establishment of the Newtonian philosophy.

This performance is to this day in use at our universities, and the notes are given to pupils in philosophy as general guides in the pursuit of their studies in this science.

When our divine came first to the university, the system of Des Cartes was the established philosophy there; though, as bishop Hoadly justly observes, "it was no more than the invention of an ingenious and luxuriant fancy; having no foundation

tion in the reality of things, nor any correspondence to the certainty of facts."

Mr. Ellis, Mr. Clarke's tutor, though a very learned man, was a zealot for this philosophy, and, no doubt, gave his pupils the most favourable impressions of what he had so closely embraced himself.

The great Sir Isaac Newton had indeed then published his Principia: but this book was for the few; both the matter and manner of it placing it out of the reach of the generality even of learned readers; and strong prejudice, in favour of what had been received, working against it. But neither the difficulty of the task, nor the respect he paid to the director of his studies, nor the warmth and prejudice of all around him, had any influence upon his mind.

Dissatisfied therefore with arbitrary hypotheses, he applied himself to the study of what was real and substantial; and in this study he made such uncommon advances, that he was presently master of the chief parts of the Newtonian philosophy; and, to obtain his first degree, he performed a public exercise in the schools upon a question taken from thence; which surprized the whole audience, both for the depth of knowledge, and clearness of expression, that appeared through the whole.

In the year 1697, Mr. Clarke accidentally became acquainted with the celebrated John Whiston, at a coffee-house at Norwich, who discovering in conversation, that he was a young man of extraordinary genius, and had made an uncommon progress in the Newtonian philosophy, at that time understood only by a few of the most learned men in the kingdom, he commenced an intimacy with him. Mr. Clarke had just taken holy orders, and Mr. Whiston was chaplain to Dr. John Moore, bishop

shop of Norwich, a prelate of great eminence for his piety and learning, and who took delight in patronizing men of genius. Mr. Whiston, being charmed with the conversation of young Clarke, upon his return to the palace, gave an account of it to the bishop, who thereupon desired him to invite alderman Clarke and his son to dine with him; and this introduction laid the foundation of Mr. Clarke's future establishment in the bishop's family. For, the very next year, on the promotion of Mr. Whiston to the living of Lowestoft, in Suffolk, his lordship appointed Mr. Clarke to succeed him, as his domestic chaplain. Our young divine now found sufficient leisure to pursue his favourite study, which was divinity.

In 1699, he published three practical Essays upon baptism, confirmation, and repentance; and an anonymous piece, intitled, *Reflections on part of a book called Amyntor*.

The late celebrated Dr. Benjamin Hoadley, bishop of Winchester, mentions these essays, and the reflections on *Amyntor*, not to put them upon a level with the author's other performances, but only as having upon them the plain marks of a Christian frame of mind, and as proofs of his knowledge in the writings of the early ages of Christianity, even at his first setting out in the world.

The author of *Amyntor*, it is well known, was the famous Mr. Toland: and the propositions maintained therein, which Dr. Clarke thought most to deserve consideration, are these three:

First, that the books ascribed to the disciples and companions of the apostles, which are still extant, and at this time thought genuine, and of great authority; such as, the epistle of Clemens to the Corinthians, the epistles of Ignatius, the epistle of Polycarp to the Phillipians, the pastor of Hermas, and the

the epistle of Barnabas, &c. are all very easily proved to be spurious, and fraudulently imposed upon the credulous.

Secondly, that it is the easiest task in the world, to shew the ignorance and superstition of the writers of these books; that Barnabas has many ridiculous passages; and, by saying, that the apostles, before their conversion, were the greatest sinners in nature, we are robbed of an argument we draw from their integrity and simplicity against infidels: that the pastor of Hermas is the silliest book in the world; and, that Ignatius says, the virginity of Mary was a secret to the devil; which Dr. Clarke supposes Mr. Toland cites as a ridiculous saying.

Thirdly, that they, who think these books genuine, ought to receive them into the canon of scripture, since the reputed authors of them were companions and fellow-labourers of the apostles, as well as St. Mark and St. Luke; which is the only reason (Mr. T. ever heard of) why these two evangelists are thought inspired.

These are the principal assertions of the author of Amyntor; in opposition to which Dr. Clarke advances and maintains the three following propositions:

First, that though we are not infallibly certain, that the epistles of Clemens, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Barnabas, with the pastor of Hermas, are genuine; yet that they are generally believed to be so, upon very great authority, and with very good reason.

Secondly, that therefore, though they are not received as of the same authority with the canonical books of the new testament, yet they ought to have a proportionable veneration paid to them, both with respect to the authors, and to the writings themselves.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, that neither the belief of the genuineness of these books, nor the respect paid to them as such, does in the least diminish from the authority of the new testament, or tend to make the number of the canonical books uncertain or precarious.

In 1701, Mr. Clarke published his paraphrase on the gospel of St. Matthew; which was soon followed by those on St. Mark, Luke, and John; a work which is deservedly held in the highest esteem; his original design was to have gone through the whole of the new testament in the same matterly, plain, simple manner, giving a just representation of what is recorded in the gospel, without entering into abstruse, critical commentaries.

We are told, he had actually begun his Paraphrase upon the Acts of the Apostles; but something accidental interrupted the execution; and it is now only to be lamented, that he did not afterwards resume and complete so excellent a work; which his friends often pressed upon him, and to which he would sometimes answer, that it was made less necessary, by the labours of several worthy and learned persons, since the publication of his work upon the Four Gospels. However, his paraphrase was found to be so generally useful, that it was strongly recommended by the most eminent divines; and it has passed through four editions.

About the year 1702, the bishop gave Mr. Clarke the rectory of Drayton, near Norwich, and procured for him a parish in that city; both together of very inconsiderable value; and these he served himself, in the season when the bishop resided at Norwich. His preaching was, at first, without notes; and so continued, till he became rector of St. James's.

In the year 1704, he was appointed to preach Mr. Boyle's Lecture; and the subject he chose,

was, "The Being and Attributes of God:" in which he succeeded so well, that he was appointed to preach the same lecture the next year; when he chose for his subject, "The Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion."

His sermons on these subjects are thrown into continued discourses, and printed together, under the general title of, "A Discourse concerning the Being and Attributes of God, the Obligations of Natural Religion, and the Truth and Certainty of Christian Revelation; in Answer to Mr. Hobbes, Spinoza, the Author of The Oracles of Reason, and other Deniers of Natural and Revealed Religion: being sixteen sermons, preached in the cathedral church of St. Paul, in the years 1704 and 1705, at the lecture founded by Robert Boyle, Esq;"

These sermons were printed in two distinct volumes; the first in 1705, and the second in 1706. They have been since printed in one, and have passed through several editions. In the fourth and fifth editions, were added several letters to Dr. Clarke from a Gentleman in Gloucestershire (Dr. Joseph Butler, afterwards bishop of Bristol) relating to the Demonstration, &c. with the doctor's answers. In the sixth and seventh editions, were added, A Discourse concerning the Connection of the Prophecies in the Old Testament, and the Application of them to Christ; and, An Answer to a Seventh Letter concerning the Argument *à priori*. Mr. Clarke having endeavoured to shew, that the being of a God may be demonstrated by arguments *à priori*; this led him into a controversy with some of the theological writers of his time.

The reputation, however, which Mr. Clarke acquired by his Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God, could not be diminished by anything that came from the pens of his antagonists.

And

And how far the work merited the approbation of all pious and learned men, may be collected from the following character given of it by bishop Hoadley :

“ He has laid the foundations of true religion too deep and strong, to be shaken, either by the superstition of some, or the infidelity of others.— He chose particularly to consider the arguings of Spinoza and Hobbes, the most plausible patrons of the system of Fate and Necessity ; a system which, by destroying all true freedom of action in any intelligent being, at the same time destroys all that can be stiled virtue, or praise-worthy. This being a subject, into which all the subtilties and quirks of metaphysics had entered, and thrown their usual obscurity and intricacy, the difficulty lay in clearing away this rubbish of confusion ; in introducing a language that could be understood ; in clothing the clearest ideas in this plain and manly language ; and in concluding nothing but from such evidence as amounts to demonstrative. He began with self-evident propositions ; from them advanced to such as received their proof from the former ; and in these took no step till he had secured the way before him. Throughout the whole, no word is used but what is intelligible to all who are at all versed in such subjects, and what expresses the clear idea in the mind of him who makes use of it. All is one regular building, erected upon an immoveable foundation, and rising up, from one stage to another, with equal strength and dignity.”

About this time Mr. Whiston informs us, he discovered that Mr. Clarke had been looking into the primitive writers, and began to suspect, that the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity was not the doctrine of the early ages.

Whether Sir Isaac Newton had given Mr. Clarke any intimations of that nature, or whether it arose from enquiries of his own, Mr. Whiston, who gives us this account, cannot directly inform us; though he inclines to the latter. This only he remembers to have heard Mr. Clarke say, that he never read the Athanasian creed, in his parish, at or near Norwich, but once, and that was only by mistake, at a time when it was not appointed by the rubric.

In 1706, his patron, bishop Moore, by his interest, procured for him the rectory of St. Bennet, Paul's-wharf, in London.

The same year, he published his letter to Mr. Dodwell, in answer to that author's Epistolary Discourse concerning the Immortality of the Soul. The whole title is, A Letter to Mr. Dodwell; wherein all the arguments in his Epistolary Discourse against the Immortality of the Soul are particularly answered, and the judgment of the fathers concerning that matter truly represented. Mr. Dodwell's book, against which this is levelled, is intitled: An Epistolary Discourse, proving from the scriptures, and the first fathers, that the soul is a principle naturally mortal, but immortalized actually by the pleasure of God, to punishment or to reward, by its union with the divine baptismal spirit: Wherein is proved, that none have the power of giving this divine immortalizing spirit, since the apostles, but only the bishops.

The mischievous tendency of this doctrine as it was supported by the great name of the author in the learned world, made it more necessary that an answer should be given to what, from another hand, might perhaps have been received as a designed banter upon both natural and revealed religion. Mr. Clarke was thought the most proper person for this work.

work. "And he did it (says the bishop of Winchester) in so excellent a manner, both with regard to the philosophical part, and to the opinions of some of the primitive writers, upon whom this doctrine was fixed, that it gave universal satisfaction." But this controversy did not stop here. For Mr. Anthony Collins, coming in as a second to Mr. Dodwell, went much farther into the philosophy of the dispute, and indeed seemed to produce all that could plausibly be said against the immateriality of the soul, as well as the liberty of human actions.

This opened a larger field of controversy, into which Mr. Clarke entered, and wrote with such a spirit of clearness and demonstration, as shewed him greatly superior to his adversaries, both in metaphysical and natural knowledge.

Mr. Clarke's piece was soon followed by four defences of it, in four several letters to the author of a letter to the learned Mr. Henry Dodwell; containing some remarks on a (pretended) demonstration of the immateriality and natural immortality of the soul, in Mr. Clarke's answer to his late Epistolary Discourse, &c.

The same year likewise, he translated Sir Isaac Newton's Treatise of Opticks into elegant Latin.

In the midst of his other labours, he found time also to shew his regard to the mathematical and physical studies: his exact knowledge and skill in them, and his natural affection and capacity for these studies, were not a little improved by the particular friendship of the incomparable Sir Isaac Newton; at whose request, bishop Hoadly tells us, he translated that excellent performance, and sent it all over Europe in a plainer and less ambiguous style, than the English language will permit. And here it may be proper to add, that, after the death of that great man, Dr. Clarke vindicated his doctrine

concerning the proportion of velocity and force of bodies in motion, against the objections of some late mathematicians, in a short, plain, and masterly letter. Nor must it be forgot, that Sir Isaac Newton was so particularly pleased with our author's version of his opticks, that he presented him the sum of five hundred pounds, or one hundred pound for each child, the doctor having then five children.

He was now brought by his patron to court, and recommended to the favour of queen Anne, who appointed him one of her chaplains in ordinary; and soon after, in consideration of his great merit, and at the request of the bishop, presented him to the rectory of St. James's Westminster: from which time he left off his former way of preaching without notes, and made it his business to compose, and write down, as accurate sermons as he could.

From the time of his taking possession of this living, he resided constantly in the rectory-house; seldom leaving the place, unless for a few weeks in the long vacation, when the town was empty; and during the time of his being rector, besides the regular performance of all the other duties of his profession, he followed the custom of his predecessors, in reading lectures upon the church catechism, every Thursday morning, for some months in the year.

Upon his advancement to this benefice in 1709, he took the degree of doctor in divinity at Cambridge, and distinguished himself upon that occasion by the performance of a remarkable public exercise. The questions on which he disputed were these: I. Nullum Fidei Christianæ Dogma, in S. Scripturis traditum, est rectæ rationi dissentaneum, i. e. "No article of Christian faith, delivered in the holy scriptures, is disagreeable to right reason." II. Sine actionum humanarum libertate nulla potest esse religio.

ligio, i. e. "Without the freedom of human actions there can be no religion."

The doctor's thesis was an elaborate discourse upon the first of these two questions. Dr. James, then royal professor of divinity, a very learned and acute disputant, exerted himself more than usual on this occasion; and, after having sifted every part of Dr. Clarke's thesis with the strictest nicety, pressed him with all the force of syllogism in its various forms. To the former our respondent made an extempore reply, in a continued discourse for near half an hour; in which, without any hesitation either for thoughts or language, he took off the force of all that the professor had said, in such a manner that many of the auditors declared themselves astonished, and owned that, if they had not been within sight of him, they should have supposed he had read every word of his reply out of a paper.

After this, in the course of the syllogistical disputation, he guarded so well against the arts, which the professor was master of in perfection; replied so readily to the greatest difficulties such an objector could propose; and pressed him so close and hard with clear and intelligent answers; that, perhaps never was such a conflict heard in the schools; nor any disputation kept up with such spirit, and ended with equal honour to the respondent. The professor who was a man of humour as well as learning, said to him aloud, towards the end of the disputation, Probe me exacuiisti, or (as others think) exercuisti: which was looked upon as a very high compliment, in his humourous way of speaking. And the learned members of the university, who had with pleasure attended to every part of the disputation, went away discoursing to one another of the unusual entertainment they had had in the schools: and particularly admiring, that, after an absence of so many years,

and a long course of business of quite another nature, they heard him now handling the subjects he undertook in such a masterly manner, as if this sort of academical exercise had been his constant employment: and with such a fluency and purity of expression, as if he had been accustomed to no other language in conversation but Latin. Mr. Whiston tells us, in the words of an unknown admirer of Dr. Clarke, who was present at this famous act, that "every creature was wrapt up into silence and astonishment, and thought the performance truly admirable."

In the year 1710, Dr. Clarke published a beautiful edition of *Cæsar's Commentaries*; which is intitled, *C. Julii Cæsaris quæ extant, accuratissime cum libris editis et MSS. optimis collata, recognita, et correctæ: accesserunt annotationes Samuelis Clarke, S. T. P. Item indices locorum, rerumque et verborum, utilissimæ.*

It was printed in 1712, in folio; and afterwards, in 1720, in 8vo. It was dedicated to the great duke of Marlborough, at a time when his unparalleled victories and successes had raised his glory to the highest pitch abroad, and lessened his interest and favour at home.

In the publication of this book, Dr. Clarke took particular care of the punctuation, or a proper distribution of each sentence into its constituent members: an exactness too much neglected by learned men, though absolutely necessary for preserving the perspicuity, and even the beauty of an author's language. In the annotations, he selected what appeared the best and most judicious in other editors, with some corrections and emendations of his own interspersed.

He acknowledges himself very particularly obliged to the learned Dr. Richard Bentley, for the use of a manuscript in the king's library; to the
reverend

reverend Dr. Robert Cannon, for some various readings, transcribed from the Musæum of Isaac Vossius; but different from those which are inserted in the Amsterdam edition of Cæsar, with the notes of Dionysius Vossius; and, lastly, to Dr. John Moore, bishop of Ely, for a manuscript, used by Dr. Davis, in his edition of Cæsar, and by him called the Norwich manuscript, bishop Moore being then bishop of Norwich.

Mr. Addison takes notice of Dr. Clarke's folio edition of Cæsar's Commentaries in the following words:

“The new edition which is given us of Cæsar's Commentaries, has already been taken notice of in foreign gazettes, and is a work that does honour to the English press. It is no wonder that an edition should be very correct, which has passed through the hands of the most accurate, learned, and judicious writers this age has produced. The beauty of the paper, of the character, and of the several cuts, with which this noble work is illustrated, makes it the finest book that I have ever seen; and is a true instance of the English genius; which, though it does not come the first into any art, generally carries it to greater heights than any other country in the world.”

Soon after this, Dr. Clarke became engaged in a warm controversy, occasioned by the publication of his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*; of which notice was taken, and complaint made, by the lower house of convocation, in 1714: but the affair soon ended, upon the members of the upper house declaring themselves satisfied with the explanations, delivered in to them by the author, upon the subject of the complaint.

Thus ended this troublesome affair; the most authentic account of which we have in a piece in-

titled, "An Apology for Dr. Clarke; containing, An Account of the late Proceedings in Convocation upon his Writings concerning the Trinity. London, 1714, in 8vo."

His Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity was first published in 8vo, in 1712; and afterwards there was a second edition, with some alterations, in 1716. The whole title is, The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity: wherein every Text in the New Testament, relating to that Doctrine, is distinctly considered; and the Divinity of our blessed Saviour, according to the Scriptures, proved and explained.

"The subject of this book," the author tells us, "is a doctrine no way affecting the particular constitution, order, or external government of the church; but, in general, of great importance in religion: a matter not to be treated of slightly and carelessly, as it were by accident only, or after the manner of superficial controversies about words, or of particular occasional questions concerning ambiguous texts; but which ought, when discoursed upon, at all, to be examined thoroughly on all sides, by a serious study of the whole scripture, and by taking care that the explication be consistent with itself in every part."

It is divided into three parts. The first is, A Collection and Explication of all the Texts in the New Testament, relating to the Doctrine of the Trinity. In the second part, The foregoing Doctrine is set forth at large, and explained in particular and distinct Propositions. And, in the third, The principal Passages in the Liturgy of the Church of England, relating to the Doctrine of the Trinity are considered.

The bishop of Winchester, before mentioned, applauds our author's method of proceeding, in forming his own sentiments upon so important a point,

point, which should be a rule for every rational Christian.

“ He knew, and all men agreed, that it was a matter of mere revelation ; he did not therefore retire into his closet, and set himself to invent and form a plausible hypothesis, which might sit easily upon his mind : he had not recourse to abstract and metaphysical reasonings, to cover or patronize any system he might have embraced before : but, as a Christian, he laid open the New Testament before him. He searched out every text, in which mention was made of the three Persons, or of any one of them. He accurately examined the meaning of the words used about every one of them ; and, by the best rules of grammar and critique, and by his skill in language, he endeavoured to fix plainly what was declared about every Person, and what was not.

“ I am far from taking upon me,” adds the bishop, “ to determine, in so difficult a question, between Dr. Clarke, and those who made replies to him. The debate soon grew very warm, and, in a little time, seemed to rest principally upon him, and one particular adversary, [Dr. Waterland, head of Magdalen-college, Cambridge,] very skilful in the management of a debate, and very learned and well versed in the writings of the ancient fathers.

“ This I hope I may be allowed to say, that every Christian divine and layman, ought to pay his thanks to Dr. Clarke, for the method into which he brought this dispute ; and for that collection of the texts of the New Testament, by which, at last, it must be decided, on which side soever the truth may be supposed to lie.

“ And let me add this one word more, that, since men of such thought, and such learning, have shewn the world, in their own example, how widely

the most honest enquirers after truth may differ upon such subjects; this, methinks, should a little abate our mutual censures, and a little take off from our positiveness about the necessity of explaining, in this or that one determinate sense, the ancient passages relating to points of so sublime a nature."

His lordship concludes what he had to say upon this subject, with assuring us, that, "from the time of Dr. Clarke's publishing this book, to the day of his death, he found no reason, as far as he was able to judge, to alter the notions which he had there professed, concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, towards any of those schemes, which seemed to him to derogate from the honour of the Father, on one side; or from that of the Son and Spirit, on the other.

"This," adds the bishop, "I thought proper just to mention, as what all his friends know to be truth."

Some time before the publication, a message was sent him from the lord Godolphin, and others of queen Anne's ministers, importing, that the affairs of the public were with difficulty then kept in the hands of those, who were at all for liberty; that it was therefore an unreasonable time for the publication of a book which would make a great noise and disturbance; and they therefore desired him to forbear, till a fitter opportunity should offer itself.

To this message Dr. Clarke paid no regard, but went on, according to the dictates of his conscience, with the publication of his book. Since Dr. Clarke's death, a third edition of this book has been printed, with very great additions, left under the author's own hand, ready prepared for the press.

It gave occasion to a great number of books and pamphlets on the subject, written by himself and others, too tedious to enumerate, but which may be found

found in a pamphlet intituled, "An Account of all the considerable Books and Pamphlets, that have been wrote on either side, in the controversy concerning the Trinity, since the year 1712: in which is also contained an Account of the Pamphlets writ this last year on each side by the Dissenters, to the end of the year 1719. London, 1720, in 8vo."

In 1715 and 1716, Dr. Clarke had a dispute with the celebrated Mr. Leibnitz, relating to the principles of natural philosophy and religion; and a collection of the papers, which passed between them, was published in 1717.

To this collection are added, Letters to Dr. Clarke concerning Liberty and Necessity, from a gentleman (Richard Bulkley, Esq;) of the University of Cambridge; with the Doctor's Answers to them: also remarks upon a book, intituled, A Philosophical Enquiry concerning human liberty (by Anthony Collins, Esq;). This book is inscribed to her late majesty, queen Caroline (then princess of Wales) who was pleased to have the controversy pass through her hands, and was the witness and judge of every step of it. And Dr. Clarke, used often to speak with admiration of the queen's marvellous sagacity and judgment in the several parts of the dispute.

It related chiefly to the important and difficult points of liberty and necessity; points in which Dr. Clarke always excelled, and shewed a superiority to all his opponents, whenever they came into private discourse, or public debate.

Mr. Whiston observes, "that Leibnitz was pressed so hard by Dr. Clarke, from matter of fact, known laws of motion, and the discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton, who heartily assisted the doctor, that he was forced to have recourse to metaphysical subtilties, and to a pre-established harmony of things, in his own imagination, which he styles a
superior

superior reason; till it was soon seen, that Leibnitz's superior reason served to little else, but to confirm the great superiority of experience and mathematics above all such metaphysical subtilties whatsoever. And I confess," adds Mr. Whiston, "I look upon these letters of Dr. Clarke, as among the most useful of his performances in natural philosophy."

In 1718, a controversy arose concerning the primitive Doxologies, occasioned by an alteration made by Dr. Clarke in those of the singing Psalms.

This he did in certain select hymns and psalms, reprinted that year, for the use of St. James's parish. The alterations were these :

To God, through Christ, his only Son,
Immortal Glory be, &c.

And,

To God, through Christ, his Son, our Lord,
All Glory be therefore, &c.

A considerable number of these select psalms and hymns having been dispersed by the Society for promoting of Christian knowledge, before the alteration of the doxologies was taken notice of, Dr. Clarke was charged with a design of imposing upon the Society; whereas, in truth, the edition of them had been prepared by him for the use of his own parish only, before the Society had any thoughts of purchasing any of the copies.

However, the bishop of London thought proper to publish a Letter to the Incumbents of all Churches and Chapels in his Diocese, concerning their not using any Forms or Doxology, dated December 26, 1718. This letter was animadverted upon by Mr. Whiston, in his Letter of Thanks to the right reverend the lord bishop of London, for his late Letter to his Clergy against the use of new Forms of Doxology, &c. dated January 17, 1719; and in a pamphlet, intituled, An humble Apology

for St. Paul, and the other Apostles; or, a Vindication of them and their Doxologies from the Charge of Heresy. By Cornelius Paets. London, 1719.

Soon after came out an ironical piece, intituled, A Defence of the bishop of London, in Answer to Mr. Whiston's Letter of Thanks; addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury. To which is added, A Vindication of Dr. Sacheverell's late Endeavour to turn Mr. Whiston out of his church. Mr. Whiston's Letter of Thanks occasioned likewise the two following pieces; viz. The lord bishop of London's Letter to his Clergy vindicated, &c. By a Believer; London, 1719: and, A Seasonable Review of Mr. Whiston's Account of Primitive Doxologies, &c. By a Presbyter of the diocese of London, (supposed to be Dr. William Berriman). London, 1719. To the latter Mr. Whiston replied in a Second Letter to the bishop of London, &c. dated March 11, 1719: and the author of the Seasonable Review, &c. answered him in a Second Review, &c. As to Dr. Clarke's conduct in this affair, Mr. Whiston esteems it "one of the most Christian attempts towards somewhat of reformation, upon the primitive foot, that he ever ventured upon." But he adds, "that the bishop of London, in the way of modern authority, was quite too hard for Dr. Clarke, in the way of primitive Christianity."

About this time, he was presented by Mr. Sechemere, chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster, to the mastership of Wigstan hospital in Leicester.

In 1724, he published in octavo, seventeen sermons on several occasions, eleven of which were never before printed. In 1727, upon the death of Sir Isaac Newton, he was offered the place of master of the mint, which he thought proper to refuse.

Upon

Upon the offer of this place, he advised with his friends, and particularly with Mr. Emlyn and Mr. Whiston; who were both heartily against it, as what he did not want, as what was entirely remote from his profession; and would hinder the success of his ministry. To which Mr. Whiston added, as his principal reason against it, that such refusal would shew that he was in earnest with religion. Dr. Clarke was himself of the same opinion, and could never reconcile himself to this secular preferment. And it is taken notice of to the honour of Mrs. Clarke, that she never set her heart upon the advantages this place would produce to her family, but left the doctor at full liberty to act as his conscience and inclination should direct him. Mr. Whiston, who particularly mentions this affair, informs us, that Mr. Conduit, who succeeded, gave a thousand pounds to vacate a place among the king's writers; which was given to one of Dr. Clarke's sons.

In 1728, was published, A Letter from Dr. Clarke to Mr. Benjamin Hoadly, concerning The Proportion of Velocity and Force in Bodies in motion. The beginning of the year 1729, he published at London in quarto, the twelve first books of Homer's *Iliad*.

This edition was dedicated to his royal highness the duke of Cumberland. The Latin version is almost entirely new, and annotations are added at the bottom of the pages. Homer, the bishop of Winchester tells us, was Dr. Clarke's admired author, even to a degree of something like enthusiasm hardly natural to his temper; and that in this he went a little beyond the bounds of Horace's judgment, and was so unwilling to allow the favourite poet ever to nod, that he has taken remarkable pains to find out,

and

and give a reason for every passage, word, and tittle, that could create any suspicion.

"The translation," adds his lordship, "with his corrections, may now be stiled accurate; and his notes, as far as they go, are indeed a treasury of grammatical and critical knowledge."

The twelve last books of the Iliad were published, in 1732, in quarto, by our author's son, Mr. Samuel Clarke, who informs us, in the preface, that his father had finished the annotations to the three first of those books, and as far as the 350th verse of the fourth; and had revised the text and version as far as 510 of the same book. A second edition of the whole was published in 1735, in two volumes octavo.

This was the last year of this great and learned man's life: for he was taken suddenly ill on the 11th of May, and died on the 17th.

The day on which he was taken ill, he went out in the morning, to preach before the judges at Serjeant's-inn; and there was seized with a pain in his side, which made it impossible for him to perform the office he was called to, and became quickly so violent, that he was obliged to be carried home. He went to bed, and thought himself so much better in the afternoon, that he would not suffer himself to be blooded; against which remedy he had entertained strong prejudices. But the pain returning very violently about two the next morning, made the advice and assistance of a very able physician absolutely necessary; who, after twice bleeding him, and other applications, thought him, as he also thought himself, to be out of all danger; and so continued to think, till the Saturday morning following; when, to the inexpressible surprise of all about him, the pain removed from his side to his head; and, after a very short complaint, took
away

away his senses, so as they never returned any more. He continued breathing till between seven and eight in the evening of that day, and then expired.

He married Katherine, the only daughter of the reverend Mr. Lockwood, rector of Little Maffingham, in Norfolk; by whom he had seven children: two of them died before him, and one a few weeks after him. Since his death, have been published, from his original manuscripts, by his brother, Dr. John Clarke, dean of Sarum, *An Exposition on the Church Catechism*; and ten volumes of sermons.

The exposition contains those lectures he read, every Thursday morning, for some months in the year, at St. James's church. In the latter part of his life, he revised them with great care, and left them completely prepared for the press. The first edition of them was in 1729.

This performance of Dr. Clarke's was immediately animadverted upon by a very learned divine (Dr. Waterland, head of Magdalen-college, Cambridge), under the title of, *Remarks upon Dr. Clarke's Exposition of the Church Catechism*. This produced an *Answer to the Remarks upon Dr. Clarke's Exposition of the Church Catechism* (by Dr. Sykes, dean of Burien).

The author of the *Remarks* replied in a piece, intitled, *The Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy, of the Christian Sacraments, considered*; in reply to a Pamphlet, intitled, *An Answer, &c.* As also the comparative Value of Moral and Positive Duties distinctly stated and cleared. The Answerer rejoined, in a *Defence of the Answer, &c.* Wherein the Difference between Moral and Positive Duties is fully stated. Being a Reply to, &c. This occasioned a *Supplement to the Treatise, intitled, An Answer, &c.* Wherein the Nature and Value of Positive

sitive Institutions is more particularly examined, and Objections answered. By the same author. Then followed the Answerer's Reply, intituled, The true Foundations of Natural and Revealed Religion asserted: being a Reply to the Supplement, &c. Which being animadverted upon by the Remarker, in the Postscript to his Second Part of Scripture vindicated, produced An Answer to the Postscript, &c. Wherein is shewn, that if Reason be not a sufficient Guide in Matters of Religion, the bulk of Mankind, for a thousand years, had no sufficient Guide at all in Matters of Religion.

The particulars of Dr. Clarke's character, with which we shall close our account of this learned and conscientious divine, are concisely drawn by the masterly hand of Dr. Hare, bishop of Winchester, author of "Difficulties and Discouragements, which attend the Study of the Scripture, in the Way of private Judgment." What he says, in respect to the character of our author, is as follows:

"Dr. Clarke is a man, who has all the good qualities, that can meet together, to recommend him. He is possessed of all the parts of learning, that are valuable in a clergyman, in a degree that few possess any single one. He has joined, to a good skill in the three learned languages, a great compass of the best philosophy and mathematics, as appears by his Latin works; and his English ones are such a proof of his own piety, and of his knowledge in divinity, and have done so much service to religion, as would make any other man, that was not under the suspicion of heresy, secure of the friendship and esteem of all good churchmen, especially of the clergy: and to all this piety and learning, and the good use that has been made of it, is added, a temper happy beyond expression; a sweet, easy,

easy, modest, inoffensive, obliging behaviour, adorn all his actions; and no passion, vanity, insolence, or ostentation, appear either in what he writes or says: and yet these faults are often incident to the best of men, in the freedom of conversation, and in the writing against impertinent and unreasonable adversaries, especially such as strike at the foundation of virtue and religion.

“ This is the learning, this the temper, of the man, whose study of the scriptures has betrayed him into a suspicion of some heretical opinions.”

The LIFE of
SIR JAMES THORNHILL.

[A. D. 1676, to 1732.]

TO one of those incidental circumstances produced by the vicissitudes of human affairs, England stands indebted for the noble productions of this great master in the art of history-painting. He was the son of a gentleman, claiming descent from an ancient family in Dorsetshire, and was born there in the year 1676. His father enjoyed a competent landed estate, but, by ill management and dissipation, he involved himself in such difficulties, that he was obliged to sell it. This situation of their domestic affairs, obliged the son to think of applying himself to some profession by which he might be enabled to support himself in a manner suitable

suitable to his birth, and to the expectations he had formed before his father's misfortunes.

An early taste for drawing, suggested to him the idea of studying the polite art of painting; and in this view he went to London, where he was protected, and encouraged in his design, by that eminent physician, Dr. Sydenham.

At this period there were no very famous masters in England; Sydenham was therefore obliged to place his nephew under the direction of a painter of so little eminence, that not even the merit of having had such a pupil as Thornhill could preserve his name from oblivion. The genius of our young artist supplied the defects of his instructor; being left to his own taste, judgment, and application, the force of his imagination was called forth by this very circumstance; and his industry keeping pace with his ingenuity, he made a rapid progress, and gradually rose to the highest reputation.

His generous patron, as soon as he found him capable to form a judgment of the works of the great masters of the Flemish and Italian schools, enabled him to travel through Holland and Flanders; from the latter, he passed into France, where he bought several good pictures; amongst others, a holy virgin, by Annibal Caraeci, and the history of Tancred, by Poussin. Unfortunately, he did not pursue his travels; and great as his merit was, the best judges are of opinion, that, had he studied at Rome, and at Venice, only a short time, he would have acquired greater correctness at the one, and a more exact knowledge of the perfection of colouring at the other, than he possessed; and his works would, in that case, it is thought, have been superior to the first painters amongst the moderns.

As it was, he excelled in historical and allegorical compositions, and in portrait, perspective, and archi-

architecture; he had a fertile invention, he sketched his designs with great ease and spirit, and he executed them with a free and firm pencil.

His merit in his own country was unrivalled, and it soon attracted the attention of the patrons of the fine arts, who were indeed but few in number, in his time, but they were such as thought no rewards too great for excellence like his. Queen Anne set the example, by appointing him to be state-painter, and employing him to paint the history of St. Paul, in the dome of St. Paul's cathedral; it is executed in a noble and beautiful taste; on eight pannels, in two colours, relieved with gold. He afterwards executed several other public works, particularly at Hampton-court palace, where he painted an apartment, in which the queen and her consort, prince George of Denmark, are represented in allegorical figures, on the cieling; and by cotemporary writers, the portraits are said to be the most striking resemblances of the royal pair: the same subject is executed in another taste on the wall. The other paintings in that palace were done by Antonio Verrio, a Neapolitan.

These great works having established his reputation, he soon acquired a fortune sufficient to enable him to re-purchase the family-estate; and both wealth and honours were the fruits of his happy genius. He was chosen knight of the shire for Dorsetshire, and in that capacity, sat several years in parliament; the queen likewise conferred upon him, the honour of knighthood.

The last great undertaking of a public nature, and which is esteemed his master-piece, was the paintings in the refectory and saloon of Greenwich-hospital; a work, which, at this time, is the daily subject of admiration to the numerous visitors of this

this magnificent building ; and which, on that account, merits a particular description.

The passage to this refectory is through a vestibule, where Sir James has represented, on the cupola, the four winds ; and on the walls are boys, supporting pannels, with inscriptions of the names of the benefactors to the hospital. From thence, you ascend by a flight of steps to the refectory, which is a very lofty, noble gallery, in the middle of which king William and queen Mary are represented allegorically in a sitting posture, attended by the emblems of love, and the virtues, who support the scepter : the monarch appears to be giving peace to Europe. The twelve signs of the zodiac surround the great oval in which he is painted : the four seasons of the year are seen above ; and Apollo, in the chariot of the sun, drawn by four horses, making his tour through the zodiac. The painter has represented the four elements in the angles ; and colossal figures support the balustrade, where the portraits of those able mathematicians, Tycho Brahe, Copernicus, and Newton, who considerably improved the art of navigation, are finely painted.

The ceiling is all by his own hand, but he employed a Polander to assist him in painting the walls, which are adorned with representations of the virtues, expressive of the design of the institution ; such as liberality, hospitality, and charity. The saloon is not so beautiful as the ceiling, you ascend to it by several steps. The ceiling represents queen Anne and prince George of Denmark, surrounded by the heroic virtues ; Neptune and his train are offering their marine presents, and the four quarters of the world are in different attitudes admiring them.

King

King George I. is painted on the wall facing the entry to the saloon, sitting, with all his family round him. On the left you have the landing of king William, and on the right of George I. both at Greenwich. All the paintings were executed from designs made by Sir James; but it is to be lamented that they were not all finished by him, for the incorrectness of his assistant is instantly to be discerned by connoisseurs, who also complain, that the figures are too much crowded: upon the whole, however, this and his other works are such proofs of superior excellence in his art, that they do honour to his country, and will transmit his name to future generations.

Sir James Thornhill enjoyed the honour and emoluments of history-painter to the court under George I. and a few years after the accession of George II. but taking part in the political disputes of the times, he was dismissed from this post, in 1731, this disgrace, it is said, sat heavy at his heart, and contributed to hasten his death, which happened in 1732, at the place of his nativity, after a year's illness.

In his person and disposition, Sir James Thornhill was equally happy; and his engaging manners, joined with integrity and sobriety, gained him the esteem of all who knew him. In fine, he had all the virtues of a good man, without those vices and foibles we but too frequently meet with in the characters of eminent artists.

Authorities. General Biog. Dictionary.
Pilkington's Dictionary of the Painters.

The LIFE of
ALEXANDER POPE.

[A. D. 1688, to 1744.]

THIS excellent poet was descended from a good family, and born on the 8th of June 1688, in London, where his father was then a considerable merchant.

We are indebted for a further account of Mr. Pope's family, to the satires that were made upon him; in answer to which, he thought proper to publish the following short genealogy:

That Alexander Pope, his father, was of a gentleman's family in Oxfordshire; the head of which was the earl of Downe, in Ireland, whose sole heiress married the earl of Lindsey. His mother was Editha, the daughter of William Turner, Esq; of York: ~~he~~ had three brothers; one of whom was killed; another died in the service of king Charles I. and the eldest following his fortune, and becoming a general officer in Spain, left her what estate remained after the sequestrations and forfeitures of her family; which, as well as that of her husband, was of the Romish religion.

He was taught to read very early by an aunt, and he learned to write without any assistance, by copying printed books; which he executed with great neatness and exactness. At eight years of age, he was put under the tuition of one Taverner, a popish

priest, who taught him the rudiments of the Latin and Greek tongues. He imbibed these elements of classical learning with the greatest facility, and, on first seeing the poets, discovered at once, both the peculiar bent of his inclination, and the excellency of his genius.

About this time, accidentally meeting with Ogilby's translation of Homer, he was so much struck with the force of the story, that notwithstanding the deadness and insipidness of the versification, Ogilby became a favourite book. The Ovid of Sandys fell next in his way; and, it is said, that the raptures these translations gave him were so strong, that he spoke of them with pleasure all his life after.

From his private tutor he was sent to a popish seminary at Twyford, near Winchester; whence he was removed to a school at Hyde-park corner.

He was now about ten years of age, and, being carried sometimes to the play-house, the sight of theatrical representations put him upon turning the chief events of Homer into a kind of play, made up of a number of speeches from Ogilby's translation, connected by verses of his own. He persuaded the upper boys to act this piece; a curiosity which one would have been glad to have seen. The master's gardener represented the character of Ajax, and the actors were dressed after the prints of his favourite Ogilby; which indeed make far the best part of that book, being designed and engraved by artists of repute.

In the mean time, he was so unfortunate as to lose, under his two last masters, what he had acquired by the first. In this condition, at twelve years of age, he retired with his parents to Binfield, in Windsor-forest, where his father had provided a convenient little box, not far from Oakingham, in Berkshire;

Berkshire; and, at his first coming, 'tis said, was put under another priest for a few months, but with as little success as before; so that he resolved to become his own master. This country retreat, however, suited his melancholy and reflective temper; and it was about this time that he wrote his *Ode on Solitude*, which appears to be the first fruits of his poetical genius.

It was here too, that he first perused the writings of Waller, Spenser, and Dryden; but, on the first sight of Dryden, he abandoned the rest, having now found an author whose cast was extremely congenial with his own. After he met with this favourite's works, he was never easy till he had seen the author; and, for that purpose, he procured a friend to bring him to a coffee-house where Dryden was, only that he might be blessed with the sight of that great poet.

This could not have been long before Mr. Dryden's death, which happened in 1701; so that Mr. Pope was never known to him: a misfortune which he laments in the following pathetic words:

“*Virgilium tantum vidi.*”

He never mentioned him afterwards without a kind of rapturous veneration. Thus, for instance, having run over the names of his great friends and encouragers, he concludes with the person whom he esteemed above all the rest, in the following distich:

And St. John's self, great Dryden's friend before,
With open arms received one poet more.

His works therefore he studied with equal pleasure and attention; he placed them before his eyes

as a model: in short, he copied not only his harmonious versification, but the very turns of his periods: and hence it was, that he became enabled to give to English rhyme, all the harmony of which it is capable.

Binfield being near Easthamstead, where Sir William Trumbull then resided, our young genius was introduced to the acquaintance of that gentleman; who, being struck with admiration at his extraordinary genius, and pleased with his good sense, as well as the decency and regularity of his manners, gave him great encouragement, and presently admitted him to a share of his friendship.

In the mean time, young Pope was not wanting to himself in improving his talents for poetry: at fourteen years old he had composed several elegant pieces; at fifteen, he had acquired a ready habit in the two learned languages; to which he soon after added French and Italian.

It is a common observation, that some seeds of vanity and self-conceit are necessary ingredients in the composition of a poet; accordingly, our author was not without a proper share of these qualities, and now thought himself capable of undertaking an epic poem. In that spirit, he set about writing his *Alcander* this year; and the performance, as might be expected, was a glaring proof of his childish folly. However, he had either sense or modesty enough, or both, to keep it in his study; and in his riper years spoke of it with a frankness and ingenuity that more than atones for the forwardness of his attempt.

“ I confess,” says he, “ there was a time when I was in love with myself; and my first productions were the children of self-love upon innocence. I had made an epic poem and panegyrics upon all the princes, and I thought myself the greatest ge-
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nius that ever was. I cannot but regret these delightful visions of my childhood, which, like the fine colours we see when our eyes are shut, are vanished for ever."

In the following year, 1704, he entered upon a task more suitable to his age. This was, his Pastorals, which brought him into the acquaintance of some of the most eminent wits of that time. He communicated these first to Mr. Wycherley, who was highly pleased with them, and sent a copy to Mr. Walsh, author of several ingenious pieces, both in prose and verse.

This introduced him to the acquaintance of that gentleman, who proved a very sincere friend to him; and having immediately discerned that our poet's chief talent lay not so much in striking out new thoughts of his own, as in improving those which he borrowed from the ancients, and an easy versification, told him, among other things, that there was one way left open for him to excel his predecessors, and that was correctness; observing, that though we had several great poets, yet none of them were correct: he therefore advised him to make that his study.

The advice was not lost: Mr. Pope received it very gratefully, and observed it very diligently, as appears by the subsequent letters in this correspondence; and no doubt the distinguishing harmony of his numbers was in a great measure owing to it.

This year, 1704, he wrote also the first part of his *Windsor-forest*, though the whole was not published till 1710, with a dedication to lord Lansdowne, whom he mentions as one of his earliest acquaintance; and besides those already named, he adds, Bolingbroke, Congreve, Garth, Swift, Atterbury, Talbot, Somers, and Sheffield, as persons

sons with whom he was not only conversant, but beloved, at sixteen or seventeen years of age; an early bard for such acquaintance.

The circumstance of our author's writing the first part of this poem so early as 1704, furnishes no bad apology for the general fault charged upon it; few images, it is said, are introduced, which are not equally applicable to any place whatsoever.

No part of our bard's life is more interesting than that of his conduct in cultivating friendships, especially with his brother poets. At the age of eighteen, he was grown so high in the esteem of Wycherley, that he thought him capable of correcting his poems, (which had been damned) so as they might appear again in print. Pope complied with the request, and executed it with equal freedom and judgment. But the faults proved too many for the author of them to be told of; he was old, became jealous, and construed his young editor's ingenuity, and plain dealing, into want of respect. Not only the design of publishing was dropped, but all correspondence with the corrector suspended.

This ungenerous treatment was resented by Pope; and, though Wycherley was prevailed with afterwards, by the mediation of a common friend, to resume the correspondence, yet this went no farther than bare complaisance. However, some time after Mr. Wycherley's death, his poems being republished by some mercenary hand, in 1728, our author, the following year, printed several letters that had passed between them, in vindication of Mr. Wycherley's reputation as a poet, against some misconstructions prefixed to that edition.

Mr. Pope's conduct, throughout this whole trying affair, was greatly above his years; but, young as he was, his talents were now beginning to ripen into full maturity. This appeared conspicuously

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in his *Essay on Criticism*; which, though wrote so early as 1708, yet placed him in the first rank of poets. It is indeed esteemed a master-piece in it's kind, and discovered the peculiar turn of his genius. He was not yet twenty years old, so that every body stood amazed to find such a knowledge of the world, such a maturity of judgment, and such a penetration into human nature, as are there displayed; insomuch that it became a subject for the critics to display their profoundest skill in accounting for it. The greatest geniuses in painting, as well as poetry, were generally observed, not to have produced any of their master-pieces before the age of thirty, or thereabouts; and that Mr. Pope's genius ripened earlier, was owing, it is said, to a happy conjuncture of concurring circumstances. He was fortunately secured from falling into the debaucheries of women and wine (the too frequent bane of hopeful youth) by the weakness and delicacy of his constitution, and the bad state of his health. The sensual vices were too violent for so tender a frame; he never fell into intemperance or dissipation, which is of the greatest consequence in preserving each faculty of the mind in due vigour. Even his misshapen figure is alledged to have been of use to him as a writer.

It is an observation of lord Bacon, that whosoever hath any thing fixed in his person that induces contempt, hath also a perpetual spur within, to rescue and deliver himself from it. Hence it has been thought not improbable that our poet might be animated by this circumstance to double his diligence, to make himself distinguished by the rectitude of his understanding, and beautiful turn of mind, as much as he was by the deformity of his body.

It was another circumstance, equally propitious to the studies of Pope, in this early part of his life,

that he inherited a fortune that was a decent competency, and sufficient to supply the small expences which, both by constitution and reflection, he required.

But even the merit of the Essay on Criticism was surpassed by his Rape of the Lock. The former indeed excelled in the didactic style, for which he was peculiarly formed; a clear head and strong sense being his characteristical qualities: his chief force lay in the understanding, rather than in the imagination: but it is the creative power of the last, that constitutes the proper characteristic of poetry; and therefore it is in the Rape of the Lock, that Pope principally appears a poet; since in this performance he has displayed more imagination, than in all his other works put together.

The poem took its birth from an incidental quarrel that happened between two noble families, that of lord Petre, and Mrs. Fermor, both of our author's acquaintance, and of the same religion. His lordship, in a party of pleasure, carried it so far as to cut off a favourite lock of the lady's hair. This, though done in the way of gallantry, was seriously resented, as being indeed a real injury. Hence there presently grew mutual animosities, which being seen with concern by a common friend to all, that friend requested Pope to try the power of his muse on the occasion; intimating, that a proper piece of ridicule was the likeliest means to extinguish the rising flame. Pope readily complied with this friendly proposal, and, the juncture requiring dispatch, his first design was compleated in less than a fortnight; which being sent to the lady, had more than the proposed effect. Pleased to the highest degree with the delicacy of the compliment paid to her, she first communicated copies of it to her acquaintance, and then prevailed with our author

thor to print it: which he did, though not without the caution of concealing his name to so hasty a sketch. But the universal applause which the sketch met with, put him upon enriching it with the machinery of the sylphs; and in that new dress, the two cantos extended to five, came out the following year, 1712, accompanied by a letter to Mrs. Fermor, to whom he afterwards addressed another, which is esteemed far superior to any of *Voiture*; and it is here given to our readers, as a specimen of our poet's epistolary style.

" To Mrs. Arabella Fermor, after her marriage.

" MADAM,

" You are sensible, by this time, how much the tenderness of one man of merit, is to be preferred to the addresses of a thousand; and by this time the gentleman you have made choice of, is sensible, how great is the joy of having all those charms and good qualities, which have pleased so many, now applied to please one only. It was but just, that the same virtues which gave you reputation, should give you happiness; and I can wish you no greater, than, that you may reap it to as high a degree, as so much good nature must give it to your husband.

" It may be expected, perhaps, that one who has the title of being a wit, should say something more polite upon this occasion; but I am really more a well-wisher to your felicity, than a celebrator of your beauty. Besides, you are now a married woman, and in a fair way to be a great many better things than a fine lady; such as, an excellent wife, a faithful friend, a tender parent, and, at last, as the consequence of them all, a saint in heaven. You ought now to hear nothing, but that which is all that you ever desired to hear, whatever others have spoken to you, I mean truth;

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and

and it is with the utmost that I assure you, no friend you have, can more rejoice in any good that befalls you, is more sensibly delighted with the prospect of your future happiness, or more unfeignedly desires a long continuance of it.

“ I hope you will think it but just, that a man, who will certainly be spoken of as your admirer after he is dead, may have the happiness, while he is living, to be esteemed

“ Your, &c.”

This letter is sometimes annexed to the poem, and not injudiciously, as it renders the entertainment complete, in the happy marriage of the heroine.

This year he also published his “ Temple of Fame ;” having, according to his usual caution, kept it two years in his study.

It likewise appears from one of his letters, that he had now begun to translate Homer’s Iliad, and made a good progress in it ; and, in 1713, he circulated proposals for publishing that translation by subscription.

He had been pressed to this undertaking some years before by some of his friends, and was now greatly encouraged in the design by others. His religious principles disqualified him from receiving any solid testimony of his merit, in the usual way, of a place at court. Common prudence therefore prompted him to make the best advantage he could of the reputation he had obtained by his poetic talents, and to try to raise an independent fortune by it. The success exceeded his most sanguine expectations ; he acquired a considerable fortune, by a subscription so large, that it does honour to the kingdom. He saw all parties and denominations join in it, notwithstanding the underhand practices
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of some pretended friends, who in vain opposed the stream. At the head of these was found Mr. Addison.

Our author had long paid an awful veneration to that rival; the consciousness of which, served to set a keener edge upon his resentment. But, though the sense of much treachery and falsehood tingled in every vein, yet he managed it with the nicest prudence, and at last revenged it by a satire which does him honour.

The several steps of his conduct in this very critical affair may be seen in his letters on this occasion, to which the reader, who has not perused them, will thank us for referring him. We shall only observe, in general, that, among other mean artifices made use of by Addison, to suppress the rising merit and fame of his rival; it appears from these letters, that he discouraged Pope from inserting the machinery in the Rape of the Lock; that, to hurt him with the Whigs, he industriously gave it out, that Pope was a Tory and a Jacobite; and said that he had a hand in writing the Examiners. That Addison himself translated the first book of Homer's *Illiad*, published under Tickell's name; which he declared, after Pope's was printed, was still the best that had ever been done in any language. And, last of all, he privately encouraged Gildon to abuse Pope in a virulent pamphlet, and gave him ten guineas for the performance: In short, this was the most dangerous attack that Pope ever experienced. How much then does it raise the character of his parts and prudence, that he was able absolutely to defeat it, and even to break these darts, which envy and malignity had forged against him, upon the head of the forger.

Thus, with admirable temper and spirit, he preserved his dignity; and, keeping his mind atten-

tive to every means that might render his translation more perfect, he took a journey, a little before the death of queen Anne, to Oxford; to consult some books in the Bodleian and other libraries in that university; and the first part of his translation was published the following year.

This gave great satisfaction, so that his finances were now put in such a flourishing state, that he resolved to place himself nearer his friends in the capital. In that view, the small affair at Binfield being sold, he purchased a house at Twickenham, whither he removed with his father and mother before the expiration of the year 1715. He calls this one of the grand æras of his days; and the taste he displayed in improving the seat became the general vogue.

While he was employed in this delightful work, he could not forbear doubling the pleasure he took in it, by communicating it to his friends.

“The young ladies,” says he, in a letter to Mr. Blount, “may be assured, that I make nothing new in my gardens, without wishing to see them print their fairy steps in every corner of them. I have put the last hand to my works of this kind, in happily finishing the subterraneous way” (from his house to his garden, under the high-road which separated them) “and grotto. I there found a spring of the clearest water, which falls in a perpetual rill, that echoes through the cavern day and night. From the river Thames you see through my arch, up a walk of the wilderness, to a kind of open temple, wholly composed of shells, in the rustic manner; and from that distance, under the temple you look down through a sloping arcade of trees, and see sails on the river suddenly appearing and vanishing as through a perspective glass. When you shut the door of this grotto, it becomes on the instant

instant, from a luminous room, a camera obscura : on the wall of which all the objects of the river, hills, woods, and boats, are forming a moving picture in their visible radiations ; and when you have a mind to light it up, it affords you a very different scene. It is finished with shells, interspersed with pieces of looking-glass in angular forms ; and in the ceiling is a star of the same materials ; at which, when a lamp of an orbicular figure, of thin alabaster, is hung in the middle, a thousand pointed rays glitter, and are reflected over the place. There are connected to this grotto, by a narrower passage, two porches, one towards the river, of smooth stones, full of light and open ; the other towards the garden, shadowed with trees, and rough with shells, flints, and iron ores. The bottom is paved with simple pebble, as is also the adjoining walk up the wilderness to the temple, in the natural taste, agreeing not ill with the little dripping murmur and the aquatic idea of the whole place. It wants nothing to complete it but a good statue, with an inscription like that beauteous picturesque one, which you know I am so fond of.

*Hujus nympha loci, sacri custodia fontis,
Dormio, dum blandæ sentio murmur aquæ :
Parce meum, quisquis tangis cava marmora, somnum
Rumpere ; seu bibas, sive lavere, tace.*

Nymph of the grot, these sacred springs I keep,
And to the murmur of these waters sleep.
Ah ! spare my slumbers, gently tread the cave,
And drink in silence, or in silence lave.

“ You’ll think I have been very poetical in this description, but it is pretty nearly the truth.”

This

This letter was wrote in 1725 : he afterwards wrote a poem upon it in a peculiar cast and kind : and Mr. Warburton informs us, that the improving this grotto was the favourite amusement of his declining years ; so that, not long before his death, by enlarging and incrusting it about with a vast number of ores and minerals of the richest and rarest kinds, he had made it one of the most elegant and romantic retirements that is any where to be seen.

“ And,” adds that writer, “ the beauty of his poetick genius, in the disposition and ornaments of those romantic materials, appeared to as much advantage as in any of his best contrived poems.”

His father survived his removal to Twickenham only two years, dying suddenly, after a very healthy life, at the age of seventy-five. He was buried at Twickenham, where his son erected a handsome monument to his memory, with an inscription, celebrating his innocence, probity, and piety. As he was a Roman catholic, he could not purchase, nor put his money to interest on real security ; and, as he adhered to the interest of king James, he made it a point of conscience, not to lend it to the new government ; so that, though he was worth near twenty thousand pounds when he left off business, from the same principles, at the revolution ; yet afterwards, living upon the stock, he left our poet to the management of so narrow a fortune, that any one false step would have been fatal.

The old gentleman had sometimes recommended to our author, in his earliest years, the study of physic, as the best means of repairing that waste of property which from his own principles was rendered unavoidable. But this must have gone no farther than a simple proposal, since we are assured by the son, that he broke no duty, nor disobeyed either
parent,

parent, in following the profession of a poet; and his father had the satisfaction of living long enough to see him in a sure way of making a genteel fortune by it.

In fact, want of a due attention to this necessary point was not of the number of Pope's foibles; on the contrary, we find him taking all opportunities to push it to the utmost. In this disposition, not satisfied with the golden tide that was continually flowing in from his translation, he published, in 1717, a collection of all the poetical pieces he had wrote before; in which, regard to his fortune had undeniably a considerable share. With the same view, he gave a new edition of Shakespear; which being published in 1721, discovered that he had consulted his interest in the undertaking more than his fame.

The Iliad being finished, he engaged for a considerable sum to undertake the Odysey; and that work being compleated in 1725, the following year was employed, in concert with his associates, dean Swift and Dr. Arbuthnot, in printing several volumes of miscellanies.

About this time, he narrowly escaped losing his life as he was returning home in a friend's chariot; which, on passing a bridge, happened to be overturned, and thrown with the horses into the river. The glasses were up, and he not able to break them, so that he was in immediate danger of drowning, when the postilion, who had just recovered himself, came to his relief, broke the glass which was uppermost, took him out, and carried him to the bank; but a fragment of the broken glass cut one of his hands so desperately, that he lost the use of two of his fingers.

He had now secured to himself a comfortable competency, and a state of ease and independence:

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his next care was to secure his literary fame from all future attacks, by silencing his envious rivals; having accomplished this in his admirable poem intitled "The Dunciad," that satire came out in the year 1727, in 4to.

He somewhere observes, that the life of an author is a state of warfare; and he has, in this attack, or, rather, series of attacks, shewed himself a complete general in the art of this kind of war. Our poet bore the insults of his enemies full ten years before he hazarded a general battle; he was all that while climbing the hills of Parnassus; during which, he could not forbear some slight skirmishes; and the success of these was of use, in shewing him his superior strength, and thereby adding confidence to his courage, but he was now seated safely on the summit: besides, he had obtained what, in his own opinion, is the happiest end of life, the love of valuable men; and the next felicity, he declares, was to get rid of fools and scoundrels: to which end, after having, by several affected marches and counter-marches, brought the whole army of them into his power, he suddenly fell upon them with a pen as irresistible as the sword of Michael the archangel; and made an absolutely universal slaughter of them, suffering not a single soul to escape his fury.

The poem cautiously made its first appearance, as a masked-battery, in Ireland; nor, indeed, was the triumph completed without the assistance of our author's undoubted second, dean Swift, who, having furnished it with some exquisitely wrought materials, a pompous edition was printed at London in 1728.

This edition was presented to the king and queen, by Sir Robert Walpole; who probably at this time offered to procure Mr. Pope a pension; which he refused with the same spirit as he had formerly done,

an offer of the same kind made him by lord Halifax; which spirit of our author in declining this offer of Sir Robert's seems to be expressed in a letter of his, about this time, to his friend dean Swift.

"I was once before," says he, "displeased at you for complaining to Mr. — of my not having a pension; I am so again, at your naming it to a certain lord. I have given proof, in the course of my life, from the time when I was in the friendship of lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Craggs, even to this time, when I am civilly treated by Sir Robert Walpole, that I never thought myself so warm in any party's cause, as to deserve their money, and therefore would never have accepted it. I desire you to take off any impressions which that dialogue may have left upon his lordship's mind, as if I had any thoughts of being beholden to him, or any other, in that way."

One of the proofs here intimated, was the refusal he had given, many years before, to an offer of the same kind by lord Halifax; as appears by a letter to that lord as early as the year 1714; where he writes in these terms:

"My Lord,

"I am obliged to you, both for the favours you have done me, and for those you intend me. I distrust neither your will, nor your memory, when it is to do good; and, if ever I become troublesome or solicitous, it must not be out of expectation, but out of gratitude. It is, indeed, a high strain of generosity in you, to think of making me easy all my life, only because I have been so happy as to divert you a few hours; but, if I may have leave to add, it is because you think me no enemy to my native country, there will appear a better reason; for

for I must of consequence be very much, as I sincerely am,

“ Yours, &c.”

It is also well known, that Mr. Craggs, in 1710, gave him a subscription for one hundred pounds in the south-sea fund, of which he made no manner of use.

As these offers must be understood to be made in the view of taking him off from his attachments to his friends, his refusal of them are so many illustrious proofs of his steadiness in that point. Yet he declares, in a letter to Dr. Swift, that he had personal obligations, which he would ever preserve, to men of different sides.

In 1729, our poet, with equal prudence and piety, purchased an annuity of one hundred pounds for his own and his mother's life.

The same year, by the advice of lord Bolingbroke, he turned his pen to subjects of morality; and accordingly, we find him, with the assistance of that friend, at work this year upon his *Essay on Man*. The following extract of a letter to dean Swift, discovers the reason of his lordship's advice.

“ Bid him [Pope] talk to you of the work he is about, I hope in good earnest; it is a fine one, and will be in his hands an original. His sole complaint is, that he finds it too easy in the execution. This flatters his laziness. It flatters my judgment; who always thought, that, universal as his talents are, this is eminently, and peculiarly, his, above all the writers I know, living or dead; I do not except Horace.”

Pope tells the dean, in the next letter, what this work was.

“ The work he [Bolingbroke] speaks of with such abundant partiality, is a system of Ethics, in the Horatian way.”

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In another letter, written probably in the entrance of the following year, we see the general aim which, at least, he wished might be attributed to this work.

"I am just now writing, or rather planning a book, to bring mankind to look upon this life with comfort and pleasure; and put morality in good humour."

This subject was exactly suited to his genius; he found the performance easy to a degree that surprized himself, and he thereupon employed his leisure hours in pursuing the same design in his *ethic epistles*, which came out separately in the course of the two following years. But a great clamour was raised against the fourth of these epistles, addressed to lord Bolingbroke, upon taste; and the character of Timon, in it gave great offence. The description was too plain not to be known who was pointed at; and the late duke of Chandos, it is said, wrote to our author in such a manner as made him sensible, that he ought to have confined himself to a fictitious character.

Mr. Pope, we are told, began to wish he had not carried the matter so far, but there was no receding; all he could do was to palliate the business; and this was done in a letter by Mr. Cleland, to Mr. Gay, in December 1731. But this letter was not satisfactory, nor yet one he wrote to the duke, professing his innocence.

All this while, he had the pleasure to see the epistle sell so rapidly, that it went through the press a third time very soon. Thereupon, in high spirits, he published a letter to lord Burlington, the March following; wherein, having taken notice of the clamour which, he says, through malice and mistake still continued; he expresses his resentment of this usage, disavows any design against the duke, makes
him

him several high compliments, and then proceeds thus:

“Certainly the writer deserved more candour, even in those who know him not, than to promote a report, which, in regard to that noble person was impertinent; in regard to me villainous.

“I have taken,” continues he, “an opportunity of the third edition, to declare his belief not only of my innocence, but of their malignity; of the former of which my heart is as conscious, as I fear some of theirs must be of the latter; his humanity feels a concern for the injury done to me, while his greatness of mind can bear with indifference the insult offered to himself.”

After this, he concludes with threatening to make use of real names, not fictitious ones, in his ensuing works; and how far he carried that menace into execution will presently be seen; for the unreasonable complaints which were made against this epistle by some secret enemies, put him upon writing satires, in which he ventured to attack the characters of some persons of high rank; and the affront was resented in such a manner, as provoked him to let loose the whole fury of his satirical rage against them, which was poured forth in prose and verse.

In the first satire of the second book of Horace, he had described lord Harvey and lady Mary Wortley Montague, so characteristically, under the names of lord Fanny and Sappho, that these two noble personages did not only take up the same weapons against the aggressor, but used all their interest among the nobility, and even with the king and queen, to hurt him.

This last injury was what Pope complained of most; and, for that reason, the letter which he wrote

wrote in answer to it was shewn to her majesty as soon as it was finished.

After this, he continued writing satires till the year 1739, when he entertained some thoughts of undertaking an epic poem; which, however, proved abortive. He has told us in the epilogue, the reason of his laying down his pen on satirical subjects; and he gave the true one for laying down his moral essays long before, to Dr. Swift.

"I am," says he, "almost at the end of my morals, as I have been long ago of my wit; my system is a short one, and my circle narrow. Imagination has no limits; that is a sphere in which you may move on to eternity: but where one is confined to truth, or, to speak more like a human creature, to the appearances of truth, we soon find the shortness of our tether."

In the interim, several of his familiar letters having stole into the world without his privity, he published a genuine collection of them in 1737. The surreptitious edition was obtained in the following manner. Pope held a correspondence with Mr. Cromwell, whose mistress stole some of our poet's letters to that gentleman, and sold them to Edmund Curl, the noted piratical bookseller, who making use of these as incitements, by shewing them to gentlemen with whom Pope likewise corresponded, they thought it was doing him no injury to communicate other letters to Curl, not knowing how he came by the first.

It was about this time, that, the ill state of Pope's health having frequently drawn him to Bath, he could not long remain unknown to Mr. Allen, a very eminent quaker, who resided near that place, and was so much pleased with the letters of our poet, as to seek an opportunity of forming a friendship with their author; the result of which was, his acquaintance

acquaintance with Mr. Warburton, the present bishop of Gloucester, who tells us, he had, before the commencement of this intimacy, wrote his *Commentary upon the Art of Criticism*, as also on the *Essay on Man*.

One complaint against that essay was its obscurity; which our author had been told of by his friend dean Swift.

But this was comparatively a small fault; the author was also charged with having laid a plan of deism; and a French translation by the abbé Resnel having appeared at Paris in 1738, Mr. Croufaz, a German professor, animadverted upon this system of ethics, which he represented as nothing else but a system of naturalism. It was against this objector that Mr. Warburton first entered the lists, in defence of Pope, in these commentaries; and Mr. Pope, in a letter to him on this occasion, acknowledges the obscurity of his piece.

"You have," says he, "made my system as clear as I ought to have done, and could not: you understand me as well as I do myself, but you express me better than I express myself." And, in a subsequent letter upon the same subject, he goes still further: "You understand my work," says he, "better than I do myself."

Mr. Warburton's commentary being thus approved, the *Essay on Man* was re-published therewith in 1740. But it appears, from those acknowledgments of Mr. Pope, as if lord Bolingbroke, who confessedly furnished the matter of the essay, had put more into our author's head than he was able perfectly to comprehend. This edition, with the comment, was translated into French, by a gentleman belonging to Mons. Cromby, an ambassador. Mr. Pope desired his friend Warburton to procure a good translation of the *Essay on Man* into Latin

Latin prose, which was begun by a gentleman of Cambridge; but a specimen which was sent to our author not happening to please him, that design proved abortive.

It was also at the instance of Mr. Warburton, that our author added a fourth book to the *Dunciad*; which was printed separately in the year 1742.

About the time that Pope acquainted his last-mentioned friend with his design to add this book to the three former of the *Dunciad*, they went together to Oxford, where Mr. Pope had the compliment made to him of an offer of a doctor's degree in law; which he choosing to wave, went further west to visit some friends, leaving his fellow-traveller in the university; who staying there a day longer to visit his friend Dr. John Conybeare, dean of Christchurch, received a message that day from the vice-chancellor, by a person of eminence in the university, with the like compliment, to know if a doctor's degree in divinity would be acceptable to him. This offer was received in a very different manner from the former to Mr. Pope. But it proved to be a mere compliment, the makers of it being, as it seems, mistaken in imagining, that one friend would not choose to be honoured with a degree without the other; so that, when the congregation met for the purpose, the grace passed in the negative.

This affront was warmly resented by Mr. Warburton: but he had sufficient amends made to him for it by Dr. Thomas Herring, archbishop of Canterbury, who conferred that degree upon him not long after.

In the course of the following year, the whole poem of the *Dunciad* came out together, as a specimen of a more correct edition of his works, which he had then resolved to give to the public: and he

made

made some progress in that design, but did not live to compleat it.

He had all his life been subject to an habitual head-ach, and that complaint, which was hereditary, his mother having been always subject to it, was now greatly increased by a dropsy in his breast, under which he expired on the thirtieth of May 1744, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

His body was deposited, pursuant to his own request, in the same vault with those of his parents, to whose memory he had erected a monument, with an inscription written by himself. It is as follows, but in capital characters :

D. O. M.

Alexandro Pope, viro innocuo, probò, pio;

Qui vixit an. 75. ob. 1717.

Et Edithæ conjugì, inculpabili, pientissimæ;

Quæ vixit annos 93. ob. 1733.

Parentibus bene merentibus

Filius fecit.

Et sibi. Obiit an. 1744. ætatis 56.

This last line was added after his death, in pursuance to his will; the rest was done on the death of his parents.

Not long before his death, he made his will; in which he constituted Miss Blount his testamentary-heir during her life; and, among other legacies, he bequeathed to Dr. Warburton the property of such of his works already printed, as he had written, or should write, commentaries upon, and had not been otherwise disposed of, or alienated; with this condition, that they were published without future alterations.

After he had made his will, he wrote this legatee a letter; in which, having informed him of his legacy, he says,

“ I own

“ I own the late encroachments upon my constitution make me willing to see the end of all further care about me, or my works. I would rest for the one, in a full resignation of my being to be disposed of by the Father of all Mercies; and, for the other, though, indeed, a trifle, yet a trifle may be some example, I would commit them to the candour of a sensible and reflecting judge, rather than to the malice of every short-sighted and malevolent critic, or inadvertent and censorious reader; and no head can set them in so clear a light, or so well turn their best side to the day, as your own.”

In discharge of this trust, that gentleman gave a compleat edition, in 1751, of all Mr. Pope's works, executed in such a manner as, he was persuaded, would have been to the author's satisfaction.

The elegance of this edition is very commendable, and it is not to be doubted, but that the author's design, as to the collection, is faithfully observed, as far as it could be done. How far the editor's privilege in writing notes extended, is only known to himself. Several inserted in the first edition, were left out in the second; but still several were retained, which contain severe, not to say ill-natured, reflections, upon the author's dearest friends. These have not escaped deserved censure.

It is said, that allowing the remarks to be just, yet the inserting them in his works must either be an injury to his will, or leave his moral character indefensible. One of these gives room to suspect this last to be the case, with regard to these friends.

In the 84th letter of the 9th volume, Mr. Pope expresses himself to that old friend, dean Swift, thus:

“ You ask me if I have got any supply of new friends to make up for them that are gone; I think that impossible: but as, when the continual washing of a river takes away our flowers and plants, it

it throws weeds and sedges in their *room*; so the course of time brings us something, as it deprives us of a great deal: and, instead of leaving us what we cultivated, and expected to flourish and adorn us, gives us only what is of some little use by accident. Thus I have acquired—But I had my heart hardened, and blunt to new impressions. Adieu. I can say no more, I feel so much.”

To the word *room*, we see the following note:

“There are some strokes in this letter, which can no otherwise be accounted for, than by the author’s extreme compassion and tenderness of heart, too much affected by the complaints of a peevish old man, labouring and impatient under his infirmities, and too intent on the friendly office of mollifying them.”

The editor, we see, attributes these expressions of the author’s love to an extremity of compassion, that is to weakness; but it is a very pardonable one, as long as we don’t know them to be inconsonant to some other warm expressions of affection to any of his new friends, which may well be supposed to be the case at the time of his writing this letter, that is, before he knew Dr. Warburton, or wrote those letters to him that are printed in this volume; wherein, if the expressions are sincere, it cannot be denied that our author had changed his heart a little, since the time of his writing the letter here cited to dean Swift. Be that as it will; lord Orrery very justly disliked the continual complimenting turn of these letters; and those that have been since added by Dr. Warburton, could give him no reason to like them better on that account.

Mr. Pope’s quarrel with Colley Cibber having occasioned several indecent altercations between them from the press; and lord Bolingbroke’s charge of treachery, brought against him in an advertisement

ment-prefixed to a tract published by the noble lord in 1749, we have omitted, as tedious, uninstruc- tive, and involved in controversy; but the reader who wishes to know more of the person, character, and writings of this excellent poet, will find ample satisfaction in perusing an admirable essay on this subject, by the learned Dr. Walton, published in 1756. also in the life of Pope by the late Owen Ruffhead, Esq; our limits necessarily oblige us to be concise, in drawing characters, and as we cannot find a more elegant model in the present instance than that of lord Orrery, inserted in his memoirs of the life and writings of dean Swift, we shall make no apology for concluding in his lordship's words.

“ If we may judge of him by his works, his chief aim was to be esteemed a man of virtue. His letters are written in that style, his last volumes are all of the moral kind; he has avoided trifles, and consequently has escaped a rock which has proved very injurious to Dr. Swift's reputation. He has given his imagination full scope, and yet has preserved a perpetual guard upon his conduct. The constitution of his body and mind might really incline him to the habits of caution and reserve. The treatment which he met with afterwards, from an innumerable tribe of adversaries, confirmed this habit, and made him slower than the dean in pronouncing his judgment upon persons and things. His prose writings are little less harmonious than his verse: and his voice, in common conversation, was so naturally musical, that I remember honest Tom Southern used to call him, the Little Nightingale. His manners were easy, delicate, and engaging; and he treated his friends with a politeness that charmed, and a generosity that was much to his honour. Every guest was made happy within his

doors, pleasure dwelt under his roof, and elegance presided at his table."

The LIFE of

DR. JONATHAN SWIFT,

Dean of St. PATRICK's, DUBLIN.

[A. D. 1667, to 1745.]

JONATHAN SWIFT, one of the most singular characters of the age, was the son of Mr. Jonathan Swift, an attorney, by Mrs. Abigail Erick, and was born at Dublin, in 1667; his father died while his mother was pregnant of him, and left her in distressed circumstances, having for her whole support only an annuity of 20*l.* per annum. Grief and a bad state of health prevented his mother from suckling him; and when he was about a year old, the nurse, to whose care he had been committed, being obliged to cross the sea, to visit a sick relation at Whitehaven, in England, her affection for the child was so strong, that, unable to resolve to part with him, she conveyed him on ship-board without the knowledge of his mother or relations, and kept him with her during her residence three years at that place.

From this circumstance, many of his friends imagined him to be a native of England; and others supposed him to be the natural son of Sir William Temple. Neither of these suggestions can be true; for although, in his angry moods, when he was provoked

provoked at the ingratitude of the Irish, he was frequently heard to say, "I am not of this vile country; I am an Englishman;" yet, in his cooler hours, he never denied his country: on the contrary, he frequently mentioned, and pointed out, the house where he was born. The other suggestion, concerning the illegitimacy of his birth, is very false. Sir William Temple was employed as a minister abroad from the year 1665 to the year 1670; so that Dr. Swift's mother, who never crossed the sea, except from England to Ireland, was out of all possibility of a personal correspondence with Sir William Temple, till some years after her son's birth.

The care of Swift's education was kindly undertaken by Mr. Godwin Swift, his uncle, a very eminent attorney at Dublin, who likewise took his mother and his sister under his protection; and thus became a guardian to the family. When his nephew was six years of age, he sent him to school at Kilkenny, and about eight years afterwards he entered him a student of Trinity-college in Dublin; where Swift lived in perfect regularity, and in an entire obedience to the statutes: but the moroseness of his temper often rendered him unacceptable to his companions; so that he was little regarded, and less beloved: nor were the academical exercises agreeable to his genius.

He held logic and metaphysics in the utmost contempt, and he scarce considered mathematics and natural philosophy, unless to turn them into ridicule.

The studies he chiefly followed were history and poetry, in which he made a great progress; but to all other branches of science he had given so very little application, that when he appeared as a candidate for the degree of bachelor of arts, after having studied four years, he was set aside, on account

of insufficiency; and at last he obtained his admission, *speciali gratiâ*, a phrase, which, in that university carries with it the utmost marks of reproach. Swift was fired with indignation at the treatment he had received in Ireland, and therefore resolved to pursue his studies at Oxford. However, that he might be admitted *ad eundum*, he was obliged to carry with him the testimonial of his degree. The expression *speciali gratiâ* is so peculiar to the university of Dublin, that, when Mr. Swift exhibited his testimonial at Oxford, the members of the English university concluded, that the words *speciali gratiâ* must signify a degree conferred in reward of extraordinary diligence and learning. He was immediately admitted *ad eundum*, and entered himself of Hart-hall, now Hartford-college, where he constantly resided (some visits to his mother at Leicester, and to Sir William Temple at Moore-park, excepted) till he took his degree of master of arts, which was in the year 1691. And in order to recover his lost time, he now studied eight hours daily, for seven years.

In the year 1688, his uncle, Mr. Godwin Swift, had fallen into a kind of lethargy, which deprived him by degrees, of his speech and memory, and rendered him totally incapable of being of the least service to his family.

But in this distressed situation, Sir William Temple (whose lady was related to Swift's mother) most generously stepped in to his assistance, and, from this time, avowedly supported his education at the university of Oxford. Sir William Temple's friendship was immediately construed to proceed from a consciousness that he was his real father.

It ought not to be here omitted, that another of his father's brothers, Mr. William Swift, assisted him when at Oxford, by repeated acts of friendship and affection.

Swift,

Swift, as soon as he had quitted the university of Oxford, lived with Sir William Temple, as his friend and domestic companion. When he had been about two years with Sir William, he contracted a very long and dangerous illness, by eating an immoderate quantity of fruit.

To this surfeit he has often been heard to ascribe that giddiness in his head, which, with intermissions, sometimes of a longer and sometimes of a shorter continuance, pursued him to the end of his life.

In compliance with the advice of physicians; when he was sufficiently recovered to travel, he went to Ireland, to try the effects of his native air: but finding the greatest benefit arose from the exercise of travelling, he followed his own inclination; he soon returned into England, and was again received in a most affectionate manner, by Sir William Temple, who was then settled at Shene, where he was often visited by king William.

Here Swift had frequent conversations with that prince, in some of which the king offered to make him a captain of horse: which offer, in splenetic dispositions, he always seemed sorry to have refused; but at that time he had resolved within his own mind to take orders, and during his whole life, his resolutions once fixed, were ever after immoveable.

About this time, he assisted Sir William Temple in revising his works; he likewise corrected and improved his own "Tale of a Tub." A sketch of which he had drawn up, while he was a student at Trinity-college, Dublin. Sir William's conversation naturally turned upon political subjects, and Swift improved the frequent opportunities he had, of acquiring from this able statesman, a competent knowledge of public affairs. But at length,

his churlish disposition got the better of reason and gratitude; he suspected that Sir William neglected to provide for him, merely that he might keep him in his family, and he resented this so warmly, that a quarrel ensued, and they parted in the year 1694, and he went to Ireland, where he took orders.

Sir William, however, notwithstanding the difference between them, recommended him in the strongest terms to lord Capel, then lord-deputy, who gave him a prebend, of which the income was about 100*l.* a year. Swift soon grew weary of his preferment; it was not sufficiently considerable, and was at so great a distance from the metropolis, that it absolutely deprived him of that conversation and society, in which he delighted.

He had been used to very different scenes in England, and had naturally an aversion to solitude and retirement. He was glad therefore to resign his prebend in favour of a friend, and to return to Shene, to Sir William Temple, who was so much pleased with his return, which he considered as an act of kindness to him in the close of life, that a sincere reconciliation took place, and they lived together in perfect harmony till the death of Sir William. By his will, he left him a considerable legacy in money, and the care, trust, and emolument of publishing his posthumous works.

During Swift's residence with Sir William Temple, he became intimately acquainted with a lady, whom he had distinguished, and often celebrated in his works, under the name of Stella. Swift married her privately; but, notwithstanding she was a most accomplished woman, he could never be prevailed on to own her openly as his wife, although after her death, which happened in 1727, he could never bear her mentioned without a sigh; her real name

name was Johnson, and she was the daughter of Sir William Temple's steward.

Soon after the death of Sir William, Swift came to London; and took the earliest opportunity of delivering a petition to king William, under the claim of a promise made by his majesty to Sir William Temple, "that Mr. Swift should have the first vacancy that happened among the prebends of Westminster or Canterbury." The petition had no effect. It was either totally forgotten, or drowned amidst the clamour of more urgent claims.

After a long and fruitless attendance at Whitehall, Mr. Swift reluctantly gave up all thoughts of a settlement in England.

Another sensible mortification likewise determined him to quit this kingdom: he had dedicated Sir William Temple's works to the king, which dedication was neglected, nor did his majesty take the least notice of him, after Sir William's death.

He therefore complied with an invitation from the earl of Berkeley, appointed one of the lords justices in Ireland, to attend him as his chaplain and private secretary. Lord Berkeley landed at Waterford, and Mr. Swift acted as secretary during the whole journey to Dublin. But one Bush, another of lord Berkeley's attendants, had by this time insinuated himself into the earl's favour, and by his whisperings, which were perhaps too attentively listened to, had persuaded his lordship that the post of secretary was improper for a clergyman, to whom only church preferments could be suitable, or advantageous. After some slight apology, owing to this self-interested suggestion, Mr. Swift was divested of his office, which was given to Bush.

This treatment was thought injurious, and Swift expressed his sensibility of it, in a short, but satirical copy of verses, entitled, "The Discovery."

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However, during the government of the earls of Berkeley and Galway, who were jointly lords justices of Ireland, two livings, Laracor and Rathbeggan, were bestowed upon Mr. Swift; both these rectories together, were worth about two hundred and sixty pounds a year, and were the only church preferments he enjoyed, till he was appointed dean of St. Patrick's, in the year 1713.

After Mr. Swift had taken possession of his livings, he went to reside at Laracor, and gave publick notice to his parishioners, that he would read prayers once, every Wednesday and Friday. Upon the subsequent Wednesday the bell was rung, and the rector attended in his desk, when after having sat some time, and finding the congregation to consist only of himself and his clerk Roger, he began with great composure and gravity, but with a turn peculiar to himself, "Dearly beloved Roger, the scripture " moveth you and me in sundry places," and proceeded regularly through the whole service. This trifling circumstance is only mentioned to shew, that he could not resist a vein of humour whenever he had an opportunity of exerting it.

During his mother's life, who resided at Leicester, he scarce ever failed paying her an annual visit. But his manner of travelling was as singular as any other of his actions. He often went in a waggon, but more frequently walked from Holyhead to Leicester, London, or any other part of England. He generally chose to dine with waggoners, hostlers, &c. and used to lay in houses where he found written over the door, lodgings for a penny; but he usually bribed the maid with sixpence, for a separate bed and clean sheets. He delighted in scenes of low life, and the vulgar dialect was not only a fund of humour for him, but in all probability acceptable to his nature, otherwise, how are the many filthy ideas

and indelicate expressions that are found throughout his works to be accounted for.

In the year 1701, Swift took his doctor's degree, and towards the latter end of that year king William died.

On the accession of queen Anne, Dr. Swift came to England. It cannot be denied, that the chief ministers of that queen, whether distinguished under the titles of whigs or tories, of high church or of low church, were from the beginning to the end of her reign, encouragers of learning, and patrons of learned men.

The wits of that æra were numerous and eminent. Amidst the crowd, yet superior to the rest, appeared Dr. Swift. In a mixture of those two jarring parties, called whig and tory, consisted the first ministry of queen Anne, but the greater share of the administration was committed to the whigs, who soon engrossed the whole.

The queen, whose heart was naturally inclined towards the tories, remained an unwilling prisoner several years to the whigs, till Mr. Harley at length took her majesty out of their hands, and during the remainder of her life, surrounded her with a set of tories, under the conduct of the duke of Ormond, and himself.

Dr. Swift was known to the great men of each denomination; it is certain that he was bred up, and educated with whigs; at least with such as may be found ranged under that title. His motives for quitting whiggism for toryism, appear throughout his works.

He had commenced political author in 1701, when he published a discourse on the contests and dissensions between the nobles and commons in Athens and Rome, with the consequences they had upon both states: this was written in defence of

king William and his ministers, against the violent proceedings in the house of commons.

But from this time, to the year 1708, lord Orrery informs us, he did not write any political pamphlet. From that year to 1710, he worked hard to undermine the whigs, and to open a way for the Tories to come into power. His intimacy with lord Oxford commenced, as may be deduced from his works, in October 1710. In a poem written in 1713, he says,

'Tis (let me see) three years and more
(October next will make it four)
Since Harley bid me first attend,
And chose me for an humble friend.

And again in another poem written in the same year,

My lord would carry on the jest,
And down to Windsor take his guest.
Swift much admires the place and air,
And longs to be a canon there
A canon! that's a place too mean,
No, doctor, you shall be a dean.

By this last quotation, and by numberless other instances in his works, it seems undeniable, that a settlement in England was the constant object of Dr. Swift's ambition; so that his promotion to a deanery in Ireland, was rather a disappointment than a reward, as appears by many expressions in his letters to Mr. Gay and Mr. Pope.

The business which first introduced him to Mr. Harley was, a commission sent to him by the primate of Ireland, to solicit the queen to release the clergy of that kingdom from the twentieth-penny and first-fruits. As soon as he received the primate's instructions,

instructions, he resolved to wait on Mr. Harley; but, before the first interview, he took care to get himself represented as a person who had been ill-used by the last ministry, because he would not go such lengths as they would have had him. The new minister received him with open arms, soon after accomplished his business; bid him come often to see him privately; and told him, that he must bring him to the knowledge of Mr. St. John (lord Bolingbroke) Swift presently became acquainted with the rest of the ministry, who appear to have courted and caressed him with uncommon assiduity.

From this æra, to the death of queen Anne, we find him fighting on the side of the ministers, and maintaining their cause in pamphlets, poems, and weekly papers. A man always appears of more consequence to himself, than he is in reality to any other person. Such was the case of Dr. Swift. He saw himself indulged by the smiles of the earl of Oxford in particular, and knew how useful he was to the administration in general; and in one of his letters he mentions, that the place of historiographer was preserved for him; but there is reason to suspect, that he flattered himself too highly; at least it is very evident, that he remained without preferment till the year 1713, when he was made dean of St. Patrick's. In point of power and revenue, such a deanery might appear no inconsiderable promotion; but to an ambitious mind, whose perpetual aim was a settlement in England, a dignity in any other kingdom must appear only an honourable and profitable banishment.

There is great reason to imagine, that the temper of Swift might occasion his English friends to wish him happily and properly promoted at a distance. His spirit was ever untractable, the motions of his genius irregular. He assumed more the airs of a patron

tron than a friend. He affected rather to dictate than advise. He was elated with the appearance of enjoying ministerial confidence. He enjoyed the shadow, the substance was detained from him.

Reflections of this kind will account for his missing an English bishoprick, a disappointment which he imagined he owed to a joint application made against him to the queen by Dr. Sharp, then archbishop of York, and by a lady of the highest rank and character.

Archbishop Sharp, according to Dr. Swift's account, had represented him to the queen, as a person who was not a Christian; the great lady had supported the aspersion; and the queen, upon such assurances, had given away the bishopric contrary to her first intentions. Swift kept himself indeed within some tolerable bounds when he spoke of the queen: but his indignation knew no limits, when he mentioned the archbishop, or the lady.

Dr. Swift had little reason to rejoice in the land where his lot had fallen: for upon his arrival in Ireland, to take possession of his deanery, he found the violence of party reigning in that kingdom to the highest degree. The common people were taught to look upon him as a jacobite, and they proceeded so far in their detestation, as to throw stones at him as he passed through the streets.

The chapter of St. Patrick's, like the rest of the kingdom, received him with great reluctance. They thwarted him in every particular he proposed. He was avoided as a pestilence, opposed as a invader, and marked out as an enemy to his country. Such was his first reception as dean of St. Patrick's. Fewer talents and less firmness, must have yielded to such violent opposition.

But so strange are the revolutions of this world, that dean Swift, who was then the detestation of
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the Irish rabble, lived to govern them with an absolute sway.

The dean's first step was to reduce to reason and obedience his reverend brethren of the chapter of St. Patrick's, in which he succeeded so well, and so speedily, that in a short time after his arrival, not one member of that body offered to contradict him, even in trifles. On the contrary, they held him in the highest veneration.

Dr. Swift made no longer stay in Ireland, in the year 1713, than was requisite to establish himself a dean, and to pass through certain customs, and formalities, or to use his own words,

—— Through all vexations,
Patents, instalments, abjurations,
First-fruits, and tenths, and chapter-treats,
Dues, payments, fees, demands, and —— cheats.

During the time of these ceremonies, he kept a constant correspondence with his friends in England: all of whom were eminent, in either birth, station, or abilities.

In the beginning of the year 1714, Dr. Swift returned to England. He found his great friends at the helm, much disunited among themselves. He saw the queen declining in her health, and distressed in her situation. The part which he had to act upon this occasion, was not so difficult as it was disagreeable; he exerted all his skill to reunite the ministers.

As soon as Swift found his endeavours fruitless, he retired to a friend's house in Berkshire, where he remained till the queen's death, an event which fixed the period of his views in England, and made him return as fast as possible to his deanery in Ireland, oppressed with grief and discontent.

From

From the year 1714, till he appeared in 1720, as a champion for Ireland, against Wood's half-pence, his spirit of politics and patriotism was kept closely confined within his own breast. His attendance upon the public service of the church was regular and uninterrupted: and indeed regularity was peculiar to him in all his actions, even in the most trifling.

His works, from the year 1714, to the year 1720, are few in number, and of small importance: Poems to Stella, and trifles to Dr. Sheridan fill up a great part of that period.

But during this interval, lord Orrery supposes, he employed his time in writing "Gulliver's Travels." His mind was likewise fully occupied by an affecting private incident.

In 1713, he had formed an intimacy with a young lady in London, to whom he became a kind of preceptor; her real name was Vanhomrigh, and she was the daughter of a Dutch merchant, who settled and died at Dublin. This lady was a great admirer of reading, and had a taste for poetry; this increased her regard for Swift, till it grew to affection; and she made him an offer of marriage, which he refused, and upon this occasion he wrote his little poem of Cadenus and Vanessa; the young lady from this time was called Vanessa; and her mother dying in 1714, she and her sister followed the dean to Ireland, where he frequently visited them, and he kept up a literary correspondence with Vanessa; but after his marriage with Stella, in 1716, his visits were less frequent, and Vanessa now again pressed him to marry her, but he rallied her, and still avoided a positive denial. At last, he found himself obliged to write to her a letter, which is supposed to have contained the fatal secret of his marriage with Mrs. Johnson;

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for the unhappy lady did not survive it many weeks: but she was sufficiently composed to cancel a will she had made in favour of the dean, and to leave her whole fortune to her executors, Dr. Berkeley, the celebrated bishop of Cloyne, and Mr. Marshall, a counsellor at law.

In the year 1720, he began to reassume the character of a political writer. A small pamphlet in defence of the Irish manufactories, was supposed to be his first essay in Ireland, in that kind of writing: and to that pamphlet he owed the turn of the popular tide in his favour.

The pamphlet recommended the universal use of the Irish manufactures within the kingdom. Some little pieces of poetry to the same purpose, were no less acceptable and engaging, nor was the dean's attachment to the true interest of Ireland any longer doubted. His patriotism was as manifest as his wit; he was looked upon with pleasure, and respected as he passed through the streets; and had attained to so high a degree of popularity, as to become the arbitrator in disputes among his neighbours.

But the popular affection which the dean had hitherto acquired, may be said not to have been universal, till the publication of the Drapier's Letters, in 1724, which made all ranks and professions universal in his applause.

These letters were occasioned by a patent having been obtained by one Wood, to coin 180,000*l.* of base halfpence for the use of Ireland, made of tin with only a small piece of copper in the center. The dean, in the character of a draper, wrote a series of letters to the people, urging them not to receive this money; and Wood, though powerfully supported, was compelled to withdraw his patent, and his money was totally suppressed.

Never

Never was any name bestowed with more universal approbation, than the name of the Drapier was bestowed upon the dean, who had no sooner assumed it, than he became the idol of Ireland, even to a degree of devotion; and bumpers were poured forth to the Drapier, as large and as frequent as to the glorious and immortal memory of king William III. Acclamations and vows for his prosperity attended him wherever he went, and his portrait was painted in every street in Dublin.

The dean was consulted in all points relating to domestic policy in general, and to the trade of Ireland in particular; but he was more immediately looked on as the legislator of the weavers, who frequently came to him in a body, to receive his advice in settling the rates of their manufactures, and the wages of their journeymen.

When elections were depending for the city of Dublin, many of the companies refused to declare themselves, till they had consulted his sentiments and inclinations.

In 1727 died his beloved Stella, in the 44th year of her age, regretted by the dean, with such excess of sorrow, as only the keenest sensibility could feel, and the most excellent character excite.

The singular conduct of this unaccountable humourist, it is thought threw her into a decline, and shortened her days. After sixteen years intimacy, he married her, but for what reason no man can conjecture, for he never cohabited with her, and was as cautious as ever, not to be seen in her company without a third person.

After the death of Stella, his life became very retired, and the austerity of his temper increased: his public days for receiving company were discontinued; and he even shunned the society of his most intimate friends.

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We have now conducted the dean through the most interesting circumstances of his life to the fatal period wherein he was utterly deprived of his reason, a loss which he often seemed to foresee, and prophetically lamented to his friends. The total deprivation of his senses came upon him by degrees.

In the year 1736, he was seized with a violent fit of giddiness: he was at that time writing a satirical poem, called, *The Legion Club*; but he found the effects of his giddiness so dreadful, that he left the poem unfinished, and never afterwards attempted a composition of any length, either in verse or prose: however, his conversation still remained the same, lively and severe; but his memory gradually grew worse and worse, and as that decreased, he grew every day more fretful and impatient.

From the year 1739, to the year 1744, his passions grew so violent and ungovernable, his memory became so decayed, and his reason so depraved, that the utmost precautions were taken to prevent all strangers from approaching him: for till then he had not appeared totally incapable of conversation.

Early in the year 1742, the small remains of his understanding became entirely confused, and the violence of his rage increased absolutely to a degree of madness.

In the month of October, his left eye swelled to the size of a hen's egg, and several large boils broke out on his body; the extreme pain of which kept him awake near a month, and during one week it was with difficulty, that five persons restrained him, by mere force, from pulling out his own eyes. Upon the subsiding of these tumours, he knew those about him; and appeared so far to have recovered his understanding and temper, that there were hopes he might once more enjoy society.

These

These hopes, however, were but of short duration: for, a few days afterwards, he sunk into a state of total insensibility, slept much, and could not, without great difficulty, be prevailed on to walk across the room. This was the effect of another disease, his brain was loaded with water. After he had continued silent a whole year, in a state of idiotism, his housekeeper went into his room on the 30th of November 1743, and told him it was his birth-day, and that bonfires and illuminations were preparing to celebrate it as usual: to which he immediately replied, "It is all folly, they had better let it alone."

Some other instances of short intervals of sensibility and reason, after his madness ended in a stupor, seem to prove, that his disorder, whatever it was, had not destroyed, but only suspended, his intellectual powers. In 1744, he now and then called his servant by name; and once attempting to speak to him, but not being able to express his meaning, he shewed signs of great uneasiness, and at last said, "I am a fool." Once after this, his servant taking away his watch, he said, "bring it here;" and as the same servant was breaking a large coal, he said, "that is a stone, you block-head:" these were the last words he pronounced; he now remained a miserable spectacle of human weakness, till the month of October 1745, when, every power of nature being exhausted, he sunk into the arms of death, without those apparent struggles and agonies, which are the efforts of remaining strength.

Dr. Swift was often heard to lament the state of childhood and idiotism, to which some of the greatest men of the nation were reduced before their death. He mentioned as examples within his own time, the duke of Marlborough and lord Somers: and

and when he cited these melancholy instances, it was always with a heavy sigh, and with great apparent uneasiness, as if he felt an impulse of what was to happen to him before he died.

He left his whole fortune, which was about 12,000 l. some few legacies excepted, to the building of an hospital for idiots and lunatics. As to his works, lord Corke has given a very nice and critical account of them in his *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Swift*.

His works have been often printed, and in various forms. Some very good memoirs of his life have likewise appeared, particularly in the earl of Orrery's *Remarks on his Life and Writings*. In Dr. Delany's *Observations on his Writings*. In Mrs. Pilkington's *Memoirs*; and in the late Dr. Hawkesworth's *Life of the Dean*, prefixed to his elegant editions of his works, and published in 1754, in 6 vols. 4to. and in 12 vols. 8vo. These are the principal authorities from whence we have selected our account of this extraordinary man.

It would be superfluous to delineate a character so easy to be traced in every part of his works; which merit the attention of men of genius and taste, and will afford them rational amusement, while they will find nothing to oblige them to study his compositions.

His remains were interred with great funeral pomp, with respect to the numerous attendants, consisting of the weavers, and a vast concourse of other manufacturers and tradesmen, who eagerly pressed to pay this last duty to their patron.

They were deposited in the great aisle of the cathedral of St. Patrick, Dublin, under a black marble stone, upon which was inscribed the following Latin epitaph, written by himself, which marks as much

much as any thing, the singular humour of the man.

Hic depositum est corpus

JONATHAN SWIFT, S. T. P.

Hujus ecclesia cathedralis decani.

Ubi sæva indignatio, ulterius cor lacerare nequit.

Abi, viator & imitare

Si poteris

Strenuum pro virili libertatis vindicatorem.

Obiit, &c. &c.

The LIFE of

JAMES THOMSON.

[A. D. 1700, to 1748.]

THIS excellent poet was the son of a divine of the church of Scotland, and was born at Ednam, in the shire of Roxburgh, in the year 1700. He gave early proofs of a genius for poetry, which broke forth in his first puerile compositions: the rudiments of scholastic education he received at Jedburgh, from whence he was sent to the university of Edinburgh. In the second year of his admission, his studies were greatly interrupted by the death of his father; but his mother, soon after this event, removed with her family, which was very numerous, to Edinburgh, where she lived in a frugal manner, till this her favourite son had not only finished his academical studies, but began to be distinguished and patro-

patronised as a youth possessed of an extraordinary poetic vein. The study of poetry was become pretty general about this time in Scotland, but a just taste, and true criticism, were yet wanting: they paid more regard to rigid rules and forms than to a lively imagination and genuine fire. Thomson saw this, and therefore turned his thoughts to settling in London, in which resolution he was confirmed soon after by the following incident:

The divinity-chair at Edinburgh was filled at this time by professor Hamilton, who prescribed to our young poet, for the subject of an exercise, a psalm, in which the power and majesty of God are celebrated. Of this psalm he gave a paraphrase and illustration, as the nature of the task required, but in a style so highly poetical, that, when he delivered it, his auditors were struck with astonishment. The professor made him a polite compliment upon the performance, but at the same time added, with a smile, that, if he thought of being useful in the ministry, he must keep a stricter rein upon his imagination, and express himself in language more intelligible to an ordinary congregation. Thomson concluded from this, that his expectations from the study of divinity might be very precarious, as he foresaw the impossibility of restraining a lively imagination; and therefore he declined entering into the church, to which, an invitation he received from a lady of rank in London, a friend of his mother, not a little contributed. Elated at this offer, he readily accepted it, and prepared for his journey.

The patronage of this lady, however, extended no further than to a general introduction to her acquaintance; but it furnished him with an apology for the imprudence of leaving his native country, his family, and his friends, to trust to fortuitous

tuitous events for a decent subsistence, his fund for immediate support being very small.

It appears that Mr. Thomson's merit did not lie long concealed at London; for he soon found a zealous friend in Mr. Forbes, afterwards lord president of the court of session in Scotland; this gentleman recommended him in the strongest terms to his intimate acquaintance, and in particular to Mr. Aikman, whose premature death Thomson has with great affection commemorated; in a copy of verses written on that occasion. Thus encouraged, he ventured to publish the first of his seasons, intitled, *WINTER*, in March 1726, which was read with universal approbation; and from this time, his acquaintance was courted by all men of taste. Dr. Rundle, bishop of Derry, now became his intimate friend and patron, exerting himself upon every occasion to establish his character as a poet; and at length he introduced him to his great friend the lord chancellor Talbot, whose son Mr. Thomson afterwards accompanied as travelling tutor. His affection and gratitude to Dr. Rundle are finely expressed, in his poem to the memory of lord Talbot.

The favourable reception given by the public to his *WINTER*, joined to the high expectations it had raised, that he would compleat the plan, by giving the other seasons, induced him to study with great assiduity, and to be particularly careful that they should rather excel than fall short of this specimen of his talents for pastoral poetry. Accordingly, his *SUMMER* was published in 1727; *SPRING* in 1728; and *AUTUMN* in a quarto edition of his works, in 1730.

But these poems did not entirely take up his time, for though we have been obliged, in order to mention the seasons as a perfect work, to carry the reader on to the year 1730; it will be necessary to go back

back to the year 1727, to trace the regular progress of his other productions. In that year, he published his poem to the memory of Sir Isaac Newton, then lately deceased; and the British merchants at this time complaining loudly of the interruption of their commerce in South America by the Spaniards, Mr. Thomson, inspired with patriotic zeal, published an excellent poem, intitled, *BRITANNIA*, with a view to rouse the vengeance of the nation against the invaders of their commercial rights. His judicious friends, now sensible of the force of his genius, which they judged to be capable of executing any species of poetry whatever, advised him to turn his thoughts to the drama, observing, that if he succeeded in this walk, it would be the readiest road to fame and fortune. Accordingly, he wrote the tragedy of *SOPHONISBA*, which was acted with great applause in 1729.

Being called upon soon after to make the tour of Europe with the honourable Mr. Charles Talbot, his poetical studies were interrupted for a considerable time; but even his travels furnished him with rich materials for gratifying his favourite passion on his return home. For having visited most of the courts, and capital cities of Europe, in the course of his travels: he made the most judicious observations on their government, laws, manners, and customs; which he wrought with admirable skill into a poem on *LIBERTY*; divided into five parts, with the more general title of "Ancient and modern Italy compared; Greece, Rome, Britain, and the Prospect." While he was composing the first part of this masterly poem, he received a severe shock, by the death of his noble friend and fellow traveller, Mr. Talbot; and this affliction most probably brought on a much greater loss to Mr. Thomson and to the public, which was the death of the

lord chancellor, justly styled, the great lord Talbot, of whom this concise, and amiable character is given. “ When his merit, and the unanimous suffrage of his country induced his sovereign to reward him with the great seal, his universal affability, his easiness of access, his humanity to the distressed ; his impartial administration of justice, and his great dispatch of business, engaged the affection and veneration of all who approached him. By constantly delivering his reasons for every decree he made, the court of chancery became an instructive school of equity ; and his decisions were generally attended with such conviction to the parties, against whose interest they were given, that their acquiescence usually prevented the expence and trouble of appeals. As no servile expedient raised him to power, his countrymen knew he would make use of none to support himself in it. His private life was the mirror of every virtue : his piety was exalted, rational, and unaffected. In his conversation was united the utmost freedom of debate, with the highest good breeding, and the vivacity of mirth, with primitive simplicity of manners.”

Such was the noble patron by whose death Mr. Thomson saw himself reduced from a genteel competency to a state of precarious dependence ; the chancellor having made him his secretary of briefs, a place of little duty or attendance, suited to his retired way of living, and affording an income sufficient for his moderate demands. This place fell with his patron, yet his genius was not depressed, nor his temper hurt by this reverse of fortune. He resumed his natural vivacity, after he had paid the tribute of grief to the memory of his deceased benefactor ; and the profits arising from the sale of his works, together with the liberality of new patrons, enabled him to continue his usual mode of living, which,

which, though simple, was social and elegant. In 1738, his tragedy of *AGAMEMNON* was acted, and met with such a favourable reception, that it produced him a considerable sum. His friend Mr. Quin was likewise very kind to him.

But his chief dependence, after the death of lord Talbot, was, on the protection and bounty of his royal highness Frederick, prince of Wales, who, upon the recommendation of the late lord Lyttelton, settled on our poet a genteel pension, and always received him very graciously. It so happened, however, that the patronage of his royal highness was, in one instance, prejudicial to Mr. Thomson, owing to the quarrel subsisting between the prince and the king, when Mr. Thomson's tragedy of *EDWARD* and *ELEANORA* was ready for the stage. The refusal of a licence to this piece, was considered as an intended affront to the prince, and there is great reason to believe this to be true, because there is not a single passage in the play which could render it exceptionable.

His next dramatic performance was the masque of *ALFRED*, in which he was assisted by the late David Mallet, another admired poet, who was his useful friend upon many occasions: it was composed by command of the prince of Wales, for the entertainment of his select friends in the summer at Kew, and it was afterwards brought upon the stage, when it met with great success.

In the year 1745, his *TANCRED* and *SIGISMUNDA* was performed, and the usual applause was deservedly bestowed on this affecting tragedy. He now finished his *CASTLE OF INDOLENCE*, an allegorical poem in two cantos, a performance highly esteemed by the critical judges of the poetic art: this was the last work he lived to publish: his tragedy of *CORIO- LANUS* being only prepared for the stage, when a

violent fever deprived his country, at a premature age, of a most worthy man, and an excellent poet. His death happened on the 27th of August 1748. His executors were the lord Lyttelton, and Mr. Mitchel, by whose interest his orphan tragedy of *CORIOLANUS* was brought upon the stage: from the profits of which, and from the sale of his manuscripts and other effects, all demands were duly satisfied, and a handsome sum of money was remitted to his sisters in Scotland. His remains were deposited in the parish church of Richmond, under a plain stone, without any inscription.

Mr. Thomson himself acknowledges, in his works, that his person was not the most promising: he was indeed rather robust than graceful, and his countenance was not the most pleasing: his worst appearance was, when he was seen walking alone, in a pensive mood; but when his friends accosted him, and entered into conversation, he would instantly assume a more amiable aspect, his features appearing to more advantage. He had improved his taste in poetry upon the best originals, ancient and modern. What he borrows from the ancients, he gives us in an avowed faithful paraphrase, or translation, as may be observed in a few passages in his *Seasons*, taken from Virgil, and in that beautiful picture from the elder Pliny, where the course and gradual increase of the Nile are figured by the stages of a man's life. The autumn was his favourite time for poetical composition; and the deep silence of the night, the time he commonly chose for such studies; so that he would often be heard walking in his study till near morning, humming over what he was to correct and write out the next day. The amusements of his leisure hours were civil and natural history, voyages, and the best relations of travellers; and had his situation favoured

favoured it, he would certainly have excelled in gardening, agriculture, and every rural improvement and exercise.

Although he performed on no instrument, he was passionately fond of music, and would sometimes listen a full hour at his window to the nightingales in Richmond-gardens. Nor was his taste less exquisite in the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture: in his travels he had seen all the most celebrated monuments of antiquity, and the best productions of modern art; and had studied them so minutely, and with so true a judgment, that in some of his descriptions in the poem of *Liberty*, we have the master-pieces mentioned, placed in a stronger light, perhaps, than if we saw them. As for the more distinguishing qualities of his mind and heart, they are better represented in his writings, than they can be by the pen of any biographer. There his love of mankind, of his country, and friends; his devotion to the Supreme Being, founded on the most elevated and just conceptions of his operations and providence, shine out in every page. So unbounded was his tenderness of heart, that it took in even the brute creation. He was extremely affectionate to his fellow-mortals; it is not indeed known, that, through his whole life, he gave any one person pain by his writings, or any part of his conduct. He took no part in any literary disputes, and therefore was respected and unmolested, even by rival candidates, for poetic fame. These amiable virtues, this divine temper of mind, did not fail of their due reward; the best and the greatest of men of his time honoured him with their friendship and protection; the applause of the public attended all his productions; his friends loved him with an enthusiastic ardour, and sincerely lamented his death; at an age,

when the greatest expectations were rationally formed, that they might enjoy his society, and the entertaining productions of his pen, for many years.

The works of this poet, particularly "the Seasons," have been frequently reprinted; and in the year 1762, two editions of all his works, with his last corrections and improvements, were published by Mr. Patrick Murdoch, who has prefixed an account of his life and writings: one of these editions is in 2 vols. 4to. the other in 4 vols. 8vo. and to them we stand indebted for the chief incidents in these memoirs.

The LIFE of

SIR HANS SLOANE, BART.

[A. D. 1660, to 1752.]

THE greatest discoveries and improvements in the medical art, and in natural philosophy, have been made in the present century; to which our countrymen have largely contributed. In philosophy, our Newton and Boyle hold the first rank: the palm in physic must be given to Boerhaave, the celebrated Dutch physician; but Sloane and Mead deservedly lay claim to the second degree of honour in this useful profession. To the first, the nation stands most considerably indebted; and as the requisite variety, and limits of our work, oblige us to give a preference, having determined in favour of his life; we beg leave to refer the curious
for

for that of Dr. Mead, to an excellent performance, intituled, *Authentic Memoirs of the Life of Richard Mead*, M. D. 8vo. 1755.

Sir Hans Sloane was descended from a family of some antiquity in Scotland, a branch of which, during the troubles in queen Mary's reign, settled at Killileagh, in the north of Ireland, where he was born in the year 1660. We are told, that the first dawns of his genius discovered a strong propensity to researches into the curiosities and secrets of nature; and this directed his parents to put him upon a mode of education adapted to this disposition. Natural history, and, by an easy transition, the medical art became his favourite studies, and soon determined him to make choice of the latter, as a profession for life. With a view of acquiring improvement in every class of science connected with the study or practice of the medical art, he repaired to London, that general academy of knowledge, where he attended all the public lectures on anatomy and physic; commenced pupil to Stafforth, a celebrated chemist, and studied botany at the very small physical garden, at that time belonging to the company of apothecaries, at Chelsea; but we are not informed who had then the management of it.

His attachment to natural history, and experimental philosophy, procured him the notice, and gained him the esteem and friendship, of Mr. Boyle, and of Mr. Ray, the most eminent naturalist of his time. These gentlemen bestowed great attention on Sloane, taking every opportunity to improve his natural abilities, by cultivating his understanding; and, in return, he communicated to them many curious and useful discoveries and observations which he made in the course of his studies. After about four years passed in this manner at

London, he was advised to travel in pursuit of a more extensive field of knowledge.

The principal professors of anatomy, of medicine, and of botany, at Paris, at this time, were men of the first eminence; he therefore determined to visit that university, and to reside some time in that famous city. There he frequented the public hospitals; the botanical lectures of Tournefort; the anatomical of Du Verney; and became acquainted with the first physicians of the court. From Paris, he went to Montpellier, warmly recommended by Tournefort, to M. de Chirac, chancellor and professor of medicine to that university, who received him with great respect, and introduced him to all the learned men of the province. Among these was the ingenious Mr. Magnol, who made botany his chief study; this gentleman took great pains to make Mr. Sloane acquainted with the various spontaneous productions of nature, which are almost innumerable in that happy climate; and he taught him how to class them in their proper order. He spent a whole year with Mr. Magnol, in this agreeable and useful employment; after which he travelled through Languedoc, continuing the same pursuits.

About the latter end of the year 1684, he arrived at London, with a resolution to settle, and to practice as a physician. In this design he was greatly encouraged by Dr. Sydenham, a gentleman of great reputation as a medical writer, and a very popular practitioner, but whom the faculty, at that time, considered as an empiric; Sydenham's generosity to Sloane, if he had had no other merit, intitles him to the warmest encomiums; he took the young physician into his own house, introduced him to practice, and recommended him in all companies. How very different this from the conduct
of

of the generality, who oppose, and circumvent each other, as much as possible!

His friend, Mr. Ray, to whom he had transmitted a great variety of seeds and plants, soon after his return home, proposed him as a member, to the Royal Society, and he was accepted in a distinguished manner by that learned body, Mr. Ray likewise gave descriptions of such plants as he had sent him, with proper acknowledgments, in his *Historia Plantarum*. He was elected a fellow of the Royal-college of physicians the following year, and his reputation was now so well established, that he must have come into very great practice; but, his ruling passion getting the better of all pecuniary considerations, he listened to a proposal made to him by the duke of Albemarle, just appointed governor of Jamaica, to go over with him in quality of his physician. No dissuasions had any effect; he made a joke of the representation made to him of the unhealthiness of the climate, and thought no sacrifice too great for his favourite pursuit. In Jamaica he resided fifteen months; and during this short time, he made such a large collection of plants as a man of less ingenuity and industry would have been some years in finding out. Mr. Ray upon his return expressed his astonishment, having no conception that such a variety could be met with in all Asia.

Dr. Sloane now applied himself very assiduously to his profession, and became so eminent, that, upon the first vacancy, he was chosen physician to Christ's-hospital; and we are now to mention a circumstance, which is almost as uncommon as his great abilities: he applied the whole salary annexed to this appointment, to the relief of those who were the greatest objects of compassion in the hospital, being determined not to derive any emolument from the humane duty of restoring health to the poor.

In the year 1693, he was elected secretary to the Royal Society, and he immediately revived the publication of "the Philosophical Transactions," which had been omitted for some time: he continued to be the editor of these volumes till the year 1712; and he greatly enriched the collection, from the time he took the management of it, with papers written by himself.

All this time, he had been making a collection of uncommon, singular, extraordinary, and scarce productions of nature and art; of such he had formed a considerable cabinet, well worthy the inspection of the learned. His ingenuity and industry in forming this repository attracted the attention of the curious who visited it, and, amongst others, of William Courten, Esq; a gentleman of fortune, who had employed the greatest part of his income, and of his time, in the same pursuit. Pleased to find in Dr. Sloane, a mind congenial to his own, he thought he could not take a better method of transmitting his name to posterity, and of being assured that his own valuable collection would be carefully preserved, than by bequeathing it to the doctor, whose cabinet, with this addition, became one of the first in Europe. His great merit was now universally acknowledged, and seemed to demand some conspicuous honours, that might shew to foreigners, as well as to his own countrymen, that he was considered as the first man in his profession, and as an ornament to his country, for his great learning and skill in natural history.

Accordingly, about the year 1720, he was created a baronet by George I. to whom he had been appointed first physician, some time before: he was likewise elected president of the college of physicians; and, upon the death of Sir Isaac Newton in 1727, he succeeded

succeeded that great philosopher in the presidential-chair of the Royal Society.

His great reputation acquired him the esteem and correspondence of learned foreigners in all parts of Europe, and he was made a member of the Royal Academy at Paris. From this time, to the year 1740, Sir Hans Sloane, and Dr. Mead, were the only physicians in vogue amongst all ranks of people, and it is supposed they made from 5 to 7000 l. per annum of their practice. It is also very remarkable, that they were both introduced to business by the most eminent men of their profession, when they were in the decline of life: Sloane, by Sydenham; and Mead, by Ratcliffe.

In 1749 Sir Hans, loaded with years as with honours, retired to Chelsea, to enjoy, in peaceful retirement, the remains of a well-spent life. Here he continued to receive the visits of people of distinction, and of all learned foreigners; a day was likewise set apart for admitting them to see his collection of curiosities; and the friendly office of shewing them, with the necessary explanations, was undertaken by the late Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, then secretary to the Royal Society: another day in the week was employed in administering advice and medicines to the poor, to whom he was a most liberal benefactor.

Sir Hans Sloane was always more or less subject to a dangerous disorder, spitting of blood; he was first seized with it at sixteen years of age, and was confined by it near three years; yet, by sobriety, temperance, and an occasional use of the bark, he so far conquered this radical infirmity, that he protracted life far beyond its usual duration; and, after an illness of three days, he expired, almost without a pang, in January 1752, in the ninety-first year of his age.

In his person, he was tall and well proportioned; in his manners, easy and engaging; and in his conversation, sprightly and agreeable. Any proposal whatever, having the public good for its object, was sure to meet with his zealous encouragement: but his chief regard was extended to the poor. He was a governor of almost every hospital in and near London, and a liberal benefactor to them, both in his life time, and by his will. He drew up the plan of a dispensatory, for supplying the poor with medicines at prime cost; which the college of physicians, in some measure, carried into execution, by ordering the company of apothecaries to retail medicines at their hall; but if we are rightly informed, this institution is now greatly abused, every private chemist selling medicines cheaper than they can be had at the apothecaries hall. Yet, Sir Hans Sloane was a great benefactor to this very company, for he made them a present of their botanical garden at Chelsea; in the center of which they have indeed erected a statue to his memory, admirably well executed, by the late eminent Mr. Rysbrack. He promoted the establishment of the colony of Georgia in 1732, and he assisted captain Coram in obtaining the charter and subscriptions for the foundling hospital in 1739; he likewise formed the plan for bringing up the children with respect to diet, and the care of their health.

Sir Hans Sloane was the first introducer of the use of the jesuits bark in England; he brought it into universal practice not only as a remedy in fevers, but likewise in most nervous disorders, in violent hæmorrhages, and in mortifications. His efficacious receipt for diseases of the eyes; and his remedy for the bite of a mad dog, are medicines in established use, having been generally successful.

It

It now remains that we should give some account of the British Museum, which will be a lasting monument of the reputation of this great man, though I can by no means allow him the honourable title of being the founder: in this particular, I think the authors of the new and general biographical dictionary have gone too far. It is true, the public are greatly indebted to his taste, judgment, and assiduity, for having formed such a repository of natural productions and other curiosities, as were deemed useful to illustrate a great variety of subjects, and to assist students and pupils in almost every branch of arts and science; if no such valuable collection had subsisted, government would not have had a proper basis for improving on such an excellent plan, by adding other collections to Sir Hans Sloane's, and making one grand museum of the whole for the benefit of the nation. But it should be remembered that part of Sir Hans's collection was a free gift to him, from a private gentleman, who, if he could have lived to have seen a national museum established, most probably would have bequeathed his curiosities to the public. It would therefore have redounded more to his honour, if Sir Hans Sloane had either, in the spirit of true patriotism, bequeathed his curiosities to his country, or have left it to the care of government to have made a proper compensation to his heirs, who were people of great fortune, independent of the sum he thought proper to demand for them.

By his last will, he directed that his valuable museum, together with his library, consisting of upwards of 50,000 volumes, and 3,560 manuscripts, should be offered to the parliament for the use of the public, on paying the sum of 20,000*l.* to his heirs: but if the parliament should not choose to purchase them, then, on the same conditions, they were to be

be offered to the academies of sciences of Petersburg, Paris, and Madrid, successively; and if all these should refuse them, the executors were to sell them, in such manner as they should think expedient. For the honour of the nation, parliament agreed to the terms, but considering this collection, though valuable, as not sufficiently extensive for a national museum, an act was made for raising a sum of money by lottery, not only to purchase this, but other valuable collections, and to establish proper officers, with competent salaries, to take care of the whole, and to exhibit it, under proper restrictions, without further fee or reward.

Accordingly, all that valuable collection of manuscripts, denominated the Harleian miscellany, from its collector and proprietor, Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, was purchased of his daughter, the duchess of Portland for 10,000*l*. To these were added, the famous Cottonian library, which we have noticed in the life of Sir Robert Cotton, vol. 3. and the king's or royal library; Montague-house was likewise purchased for the purpose of preserving them all intire under one roof; the institution was intitled, with great propriety, *THE BRITISH MUSÆUM*, and the great officers of state for the time being, together with the bishop of London, and the presidents of the Royal Society, and the college of physicians, were made perpetual trustees: they have a power to add to the museum by purchases; and the parliament, within these three years, have granted a sum of money for that purpose.

Sir Hans Sloane only published one work, which is in the highest repute; *The Natural History of Jamaica*, 2 vols. folio.

The

The LIFE of
HENRY FIELDING.

[A. D. 1707, to 1754.]

THIS vigilant, active magistrate, and eminent writer, was the son of Edmund Fielding, who served in the wars under the duke of Marlborough, and arrived to the rank of lieutenant-general, about the latter end of the reign of George I. or the beginning of George II. His mother was the daughter of judge Gould, the grandfather of the late Sir Henry Gould, one of the barons of the Exchequer: he was born at Sharpard-park, in Somersetshire, in 1707; and was the eldest of four sisters and a brother. Sarah Fielding, his third sister, is well known to the literary world by many elegant performances.

His mother dying, lieutenant-general Fielding married a second time, and the issue of that marriage was six sons, George, James, Charles, John, William, and Basil; all dead except Sir John Fielding, who succeeded his half brother Henry, in the commission of the peace for the counties of Middlesex, Surrey, Essex, and the city and liberties of Westminster; and who, by the improvements he has made in our defective system of police, has acquired great reputation, and the honour of being considered as the chief magistrate in those extensive jurisdictions.

Henry

Henry Fielding received the first rudiments of his education at home, under the care of the reverend Mr. Oliver, of whom he has given a very humorous and striking portrait in Joseph Andrews, under the name of parson Trulliber.

From Mr. Oliver's care he was removed to Eton-school, where he became acquainted with the late lords Lyttelton and Holland, Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, Mr. Winnington, and lord Chatham, the only survivor. When he left this great seminary, he was said to be uncommonly versed in the Greek and Latin classics; for both which he ever retained a strong admiration.

From Eton he was sent to Leyden, and there he studied the civilians for about two years; but remittances failing, at the age of twenty, or thereabout, he returned from Leyden to London; where, though under age, he found himself his own master; from which source flowed all the inconveniencies that attended him throughout the remainder of his life. The brilliancy of his wit, the vivacity of his humour, and his high relish of social enjoyment, soon brought him into request with men of taste and literature, and with the voluptuous of all ranks. His finances were not equal to the frequent draughts made upon him by the extravagance which naturally followed. He was allowed, indeed, two hundred pounds a year by his father; but, as he himself used to say, any body might pay it that would.

The fact was, General Fielding having married again soon after the death of our author's mother, had so large an increase of family, and that too so quick, that he could not spare any considerable disbursements for the maintenance of his eldest son. Of this truth Henry Fielding was sensible; and he was therefore, in whatever difficulties he might be involved,

involved, never wanting in filial piety; which, his nearest relations agree, was a shining part of his character.

Disappointments, indeed, were observed to provoke him into occasional peevishness, and severity of animadversion; but his general temper was remarkably gay, and, for the most part, overflowing with wit, mirth, and good-humour.

Disagreeable impressions never continued long upon his mind; his imagination was fond of seizing every gay prospect; and, in his worst adversities, filled him with sanguine hopes of a better situation. To obtain this, he flattered himself that he should find resources in his wit and invention; and accordingly he commenced a writer for the stage in the year 1727, being then about twenty years of age.

His first dramatic piece soon after ventured into the world, and was called "Love in several Masques." It immediately succeeded the Provoked Husband, a play, which, for the continued space of twenty-eight nights, received as great and as just applauses as ever were bestowed on the English stage. Notwithstanding these obstacles, Fielding's play was favourably received.

His second play, "the Temple Beau," appeared the year after. From the year 1727 to the end of 1736, almost all his plays and farces were written, not above two or three having appeared since that time; so that he produced about eighteen theatrical performances, plays and farces included, before he was quite thirty years of age.

Though in the plan of his pieces he is not always regular, yet he is often happy in his diction and style; and, in every groupe that he has exhibited, there are to be seen particular delineations that will amply recompense the attention bestowed upon them.

them. The comedy of the Miser, which he has mostly taken from Moliere, has maintained its ground upon the stage ever since it was first performed; and has the value of a copy from a great painter, by an eminent hand.

The comedy of Pasquin, hinted at by lord Chesterfield in his speech, and some other piece, which being suppressed, he did not think proper to preserve, even in manuscript, together with "the Historical Register," which is full of severe satire on the great men of the time, in high office, undoubtedly occasioned the act of parliament, of which we have taken so much notice in lord Chesterfield's life, for subjecting all new plays to the inspection and licence of the lord chamberlain.

His farces were almost all of them very successful; and many of them are still acted every winter with approbation. They were generally the production of two or three mornings. The Lottery, the Intriguing Chambermaid, and the Virgin Unmasked, besides the real entertainment they afford, had, on their first appearance, this additional merit, that they served to make discoveries of that true comic genius which was then dawning forth in that celebrated actress, Mrs. Clive.

So early as when he was at Leyden, Mr. Fielding made some efforts towards a comedy in the sketch of Don Quixote in England. When he left that place, and settled in London, a variety of characters attracted his notice, and of course served to strengthen his favourite inclination: the inconsistencies that flow from vanity, from affectation, from hypocrisy, from pretended friendship, and, in short, all the dissonant qualities which are often whimsically blended together by the follies of men, could not fail to strike a person who had so fine a sense of ridicule; and, accordingly, we find that
he

he never seems so happy, as when he is developing a character made up of motley and repugnant properties.

To search out and describe objects of this kind, seems to have been the favourite bent of his mind; and, from his happy description of the manners, he may justly be pronounced an admirable comic genius in the largest acceptation of the phrase, implying humorous and pleasant imitation of men and manners, whether in the way of fabulous narration, or of dramatic composition.

In the former species of writing lay the excellence of Mr. Fielding: in dramatic imitation he must be allowed to fall short of the great masters in that art. What the ingenious Mr. Hurd observes of Ben Johnson, may be justly applied to Fielding:

“ His taste for ridicule was strong, but indelicate, which made him not over curious in the choice of his topics. His style in picturing his characters, though masterly, was without that elegance of hand, which is required to correct and allay the force of so bold a colouring. Thus the bias of his nature leaning him to Plautus, rather than Terence, for his model, it is not to be wondered, that his wit is too frequently caustic, his raillery coarse, and his humour excessive.”

There is another circumstance respecting the drama, in which Fielding's judgment seems to have failed him: the strength of his genius certainly lay in fabulous narration, and he did not sufficiently consider, that some incidents of a story which, when related, may be worked up into much pleasantry and humour, are apt, when thrown into action, to excite sensations incompatible with humour and ridicule.

To these causes of his failure in the province of the drama, may be added that sovereign contempt
he

he always entertained for the understandings of the generality of mankind. It was in vain to tell him, that a particular scene was dangerous, on account of its coarseness, or because it retarded the general business with feeble efforts of wit; he doubted the discernment of his auditors, and so thought himself secured by their stupidity, if not by his own humour and vivacity. A very remarkable instance of this disposition appeared when the comedy of "the Wedding Day" was put into rehearsal.

An actor, who was principally concerned in the piece, and, though young, was then, by the advantage of uncommon talents, an early favourite of the public, told Mr. Fielding, he was apprehensive, that the audience would make free with him in a particular passage; adding, that a repulse might so flurry his spirits, as to disconcert him for the rest of the night, and therefore begged that it might be omitted. "No, d—mn 'em," replied the bard, "if the scene is not a good one, let them find that out."

Accordingly, the play was brought on without alteration; and, just as had been foreseen, the disapprobation of the house was provoked at the passage before objected to; and the performer, alarmed and uneasy at the hisses he had met with, retired into the green-room, where the author was solacing himself with a bottle of champagne. He had by this time drank pretty plentifully, and cocking his eye at the actor, while streams of tobacco trickled down from the corner of his mouth, "What's the matter, Garrick," says he, "what are they hissing now?" "Why, the scene that I begged you to retrench; I knew it would not do; and they have so frightened me, that I shall not be able to collect myself again the whole night." "Oh! d—mn 'em," replies the author, "they have found it out, have they?"

If

If we add to the foregoing remarks an observation of his own; "that he left off writing for the stage, when he ought to have begun;" and, together with this, consider his extreme hurry and dispatch, we shall be able fully to account for his not bearing a more distinguished place in the rank of dramatic writers.

It is apparent, that, in the frame and constitution of his genius there was no defect, but some faculty or other was suffered to lie dormant, and the rest, of course, were exerted with less efficacy: at one time we see his wit superseding all his other talents; at another, his invention runs riot, and multiplies incidents and characters in a manner repugnant to all the received laws of the drama. Generally his judgment was very little consulted; and, indeed, how could it? When he had contracted to bring on a play, or a farce, he would go home rather late from a tavern, and the next morning, deliver a scene to the players, written upon the papers which wrapped up the tobacco in which he so much delighted.

Though it was the lot of Henry Fielding to write always with a view to profit, he derived but small aids towards his subsistence from the treasurer of the play-house. One of his farces he has printed as it was damned at the theatre-royal in Drury-lane; and that he might be more generous to his enemies than they were willing to be to him, he informs them, in the general preface to his *Miscellanies*, that, for the *Wedding-Day*, though acted six nights, his profits from the house did not exceed fifty pounds.

A fate not much better attended him in his earlier productions: but the severity of the public, and the malice of his enemies, met with a noble alleviation

alleviation from the patronage of the late duke of Richmond, John, duke of Argyll, the late duke of Roxborough, and many persons of distinguished rank and character; among whom may be numbered the late lord Lyttelton, whose friendship to our author softened the rigour of his misfortunes while he lived, and exerted itself towards his memory when he was no more, by taking pains to clear up imputations of a particular kind, which had been thrown out against his character.

Mr. Fielding had not been long a writer for the stage, when he married Miss Craddock, a beauty from Salisbury. About that time his mother dying, a moderate estate, at Stower, in Dorsetshire, devolved to him. To that place he retired with his wife, on whom he doated, with a resolution to bid adieu to all the follies and intemperances of a town life. But, unfortunately, a kind of family-pride here gained an ascendant over him, and he began immediately to vie in splendor with the neighbouring country gentlemen. With an estate not much above two hundred pounds a year, and his wife's fortune, which did not exceed fifteen hundred pounds, he encumbered himself with a large retinue of servants, all clad in costly yellow liveries. For their master's honour, these people could not descend so low, as to be careful in their apparel, but in a month or two were unfit to be seen; the squire's dignity required that they should be new equipped; and his chief pleasure consisted in society and convivial mirth, hospitality threw open his doors, and in less than three years, entertainments, hounds, and horses, entirely devoured a little patrimony, which, had it been managed with economy, might have secured to him a state of independence for the rest of his life. Sensible of the
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disagreeable situation he had now reduced himself to, he immediately determined to exert his best endeavours to recover what he had wantonly thrown away, a decent competence; and being then about thirty years of age, he betook himself to the study of the law. The friendships he met with from some, who have since risen to be the first ornaments of the law, will ever do honour to his memory. His application, while he was a student in the Temple, was remarkably intense: he has been frequently known, by his intimates, to retire late at night from a tavern to his chambers, and there read, and make extracts from the most abstruse authors, for several hours before he went to bed. After the customary time of probation at the Temple, he was called to the bar. He attended with assiduity, both in term-time and on the western circuit, as long as his health permitted; but the gout soon rendered it impossible for him to be as constant at the bar, as the laboriousness of his profession required: he could only now follow the law by starts, at such intervals as were free from indisposition; which could not but be a dispiriting circumstance, as he saw himself at once disabled from ever rising to the eminence he aspired to. However, under the severities of pain and want, he still pursued his researches with an eagerness of curiosity peculiar to him; and, though it is wittily remarked by Wycherly, that Apollo and Lyttelton seldom meet in the same brain, yet Mr. Fielding is allowed to have acquired a respectable share of jurisprudence, and in some particular branches he is said to have risen to a great degree of eminence, more especially in crown-law, as may be judged from his leaving two volumes in folio on that subject. This work remains still
unpub-

unpublished, in the hands of his brother, Sir John Fielding; and it is deemed perfect in some parts. It will serve to give us an idea of the great force and vigour of his mind, if we consider him pursuing so arduous a study under the exigencies of family distress, with a wife and children, whom he tenderly loved, looking up to him for subsistence, with a body lacerated by the acutest pains, and with a mind distracted with a thousand avocations, and obliged, for immediate supply, to produce, almost extempore, a play, a farce, a pamphlet, or a news-paper.

A large number of fugitive political tracts, which had their value when the incidents were actually passing on the great scene of business, came from his pen: the periodical paper, called "the Champion;" owed its chief support to his abilities; and though his essays in that collection cannot now be ascertained, yet the reputation arising to him, at the time of publication, was not inconsiderable.

In the progress of Henry Fielding's talents, there seem to have been three remarkable periods; one, when his genius broke forth at once, with an effulgence superior to all the rays of light it had before emitted, like the sun in his morning glory; the second, when it was displayed with collected force, and a fulness of perfection, like the sun in meridian majesty; and the third, when the same genius, grown more cool and temperate, still continued to cheer and enliven, but shewed at the same time that it was tending to its decline, like the sun, abating from his ardor, but still gilding the western hemisphere.

To these three epochas of our author's genius, there is an exact analogy, in his Joseph Andrews, Tom Jones, and Amelia. It will not be improper
here

here to mention, that the reverend Mr. Young, a learned and much esteemed friend of Mr. Fielding's, sat for parson Adams. Mr. Young was remarkable for his intimate acquaintance with the Greek authors, and had as passionate a veneration for Æschylus as parson Adams; the overflowings of his benevolence were as strong, and his fits of reverie were as frequent, and occurred, too, upon the most interesting occasions. Of this last observation a singular instance is given, by a gentleman who served, during the last war, in Flanders, in the very same regiment to which Mr. Young was chaplain: on a fine summer's evening, he thought proper to indulge himself in his love of a solitary walk; and accordingly he sallied forth from his tent: the beauties of the hemisphere, and the landscape round him, pressed warily on his imagination; his heart overflowed with benevolence to all God's creatures, and gratitude to the Supreme Dispenser of that emanation of glory which covered the face of things. It is very possible that a passage in his dearly beloved Æschylus occurred to his memory on this occasion, and seduced his thoughts into a profound meditation. Whatever was the object of his reflections, certain it is, that something did powerfully seize his imagination, so as to preclude all attention to things that lay immediately before him; and, in that deep fit of absence, Mr. Young proceeded on his journey, till he arrived very quietly and calmly, in the enemy's camp, where he was, with difficulty, brought to a recollection of himself, by the repetition of "*Qui va là,*" from the soldiers upon duty. The officer who commanded, finding that he had strayed thither in the undesigned simplicity of his heart, and seeing an innate goodness in his prisoner, which commanded

his respect, very politely gave him leave to pursue his contemplations home again.

Soon after the publication of Joseph Andrews, Fielding's last comedy, the *Wedding-Day*, was exhibited on the stage: and, as we have already observed, it was attended with an indifferent share of success. The law, from this time, had its hot and cold fits with him. The repeated shocks of illness disabled him from being as assiduous an attendant at the bar, as his own inclination, and patience of the most laborious application, would otherwise have made him. Besides the demands for expence, which his valetudinarian habit of body constantly made upon him, he had likewise a family to maintain; from business he derived little or no supplies; and his prospects, therefore, grew every day more gloomy and melancholy. To these discouraging circumstances, if we add the infirmity of his wife, whom he loved tenderly, and the agonies he felt on her account, the measure of his afflictions will be well nigh full. To see her daily languishing and wearing away before his eyes, was too much for a man of his strong sensations; the fortitude of mind, with which he met all the other calamities of life, deserted him on this most trying occasion; and her death, which happened about this time, brought on such a vehemence of grief, that his friends began to think him in danger of losing his reason.

When the first emotions of his sorrow were abated, he began again to struggle with his fortune. He engaged in two periodical papers successively. The first of these was called, *The True Patriot*, which was set on foot during the late rebellion, and was conducive to the excitement of loyalty, and a love for the constitution in the breast of his countrymen.

trymen. The Jacobite Journal was calculated to discredit the shattered remains of an unsuccessful party; and, by a well-applied raillery and ridicule, to bring the sentiments of the disaffected into contempt.

By this time Fielding had attained the age of forty-three; and, being incessantly pursued by reiterated attacks of the gout, he was wholly rendered incapable of pursuing the business of a barrister any longer. He was obliged therefore to accept the office of an acting magistrate in the commission of the peace for Middlesex, with a yearly pension from government.

That he was attentive to the duties of this public station is evident, from the many tracts he published relating to several of the penal laws, and to the vices and mal-practices which those laws were intended to restrain; particularly "A Charge to the Grand-jury, delivered at Westminster, on the 29th of June 1749;" the "Enquiry into the Causes of the Increase of Robberies;" and "A Proposal for the Maintenance of the Poor."

Amidst these severe exercises of his understanding, and all the laborious duties of his office, his invention could not lie still; but he found leisure to amuse himself, and afterwards the world, with *The History of Tom Jones*. And now we are arrived at the second grand epoch of Mr. Fielding's genius, when all his faculties were in perfect unison, and conspired to produce a complete work, eminent in all the great essentials of composition; in fable, character, sentiment, and elocution; and, as these could not be all united in so high an assemblage, without a rich invention, a fine imagination, an enlightened judgment, and a lively wit, we may fairly here decide his character, and pronounce him the English Cervantes.

It may be added, that, in many parts of Tom Jones, we find he possessed the softer graces of character painting, and of description; many situations and sentiments are touched with a delicate hand, and throughout the work he seems to feel as much delight in describing the amiable part of human nature, as in his early days he had in exaggerating the strong and harsh features of turpitude and deformity.

Thus have we traced our author in his progress to the time when the vigour of his mind was in its full growth of perfection; from this period it sunk, but by slow degrees, into a decline. "*Amelia*," which succeeded Tom Jones, in about four years, has indeed the marks of genius, but of a genius beginning to fall into decay. *Amelia* is the *Odyssey*, the moral, and pathetic work of Henry Fielding.

While he was planning and executing this piece, it should be remembered, that he was distracted by that multiplicity of avocations which surround a public magistrate; and his constitution, now greatly impaired and enfeebled, was labouring under the attacks of the gout, which were of course severer than ever. However, the activity of his mind was not to be subdued: one literary pursuit was no sooner over than fresh game arose. A periodical paper, under the title of *The Covent Garden Journal*, by Sir Alexander Drawcanfir, knight, and Censor-general of Great-Britain, was immediately set on foot. It was published twice in every week, viz. on Tuesday and Saturday, and conducted so much to the entertainment of the public, that it was felt with a general regret, that the author's health did not enable him to persist in the undertaking any longer.

Soon after this work was dropped, by the advice of physicians, Mr. Fielding set out for Lisbon. The last gleams of his wit and humour sparkled in the

the account he left behind him of his Voyage to that place. In this his last sketch, he puts us in mind of a person, under sentence of death, jesting on the scaffold; for his strength was now quite exhausted; and, in about two months after his arrival at Lisbon, he yielded his last breath, in the year 1754, and in the forty-eighth year of his age.

Thus was closed a course of disappointment, distress, vexation, infirmity, and study; for with each of these his life was variously chequered; and, perhaps, in stronger proportions than has been the lot of many.

We have seen how Mr. Fielding very soon squandered away his small patrimony, which, with economy, might have procured him independence; we have seen how far he ruined, into the bargain, a constitution which, in its original texture, seemed formed to last much longer. When indigence and illness were once let in upon him, he no longer remained master of his own actions, and that delicacy of conduct, which alone constitutes and preserves a character, was obliged to give way.

When he was not under the immediate urgency of want, they who were intimate with him, are ready to aver, that he had a mind greatly superior to any thing mean or little; when his finances were exhausted, he was not the most elegant in his choice of the means to redress himself; and he would instantly exhibit a farce, or a puppet-show, in the Haymarket-theatre; which was wholly inconsistent with the profession he had embarked in. But his intimates can witness how much his pride suffered when he was forced into measures of this kind; no man having a juster sense of propriety, or more honourable ideas of the profession of an author and a scholar.

Henry Fielding was in stature rather rising above six feet; his frame of body large, and remarkably robust, till the gout had broke the vigour of his constitution.

An elegant and correct edition of his works was published by the ingenious and learned Arthur Murphy, Esq; now an eminent counsellor; but more generally known as an excellent dramatic author. To Mr. Murphy's Essay on the Life and Genius of Fielding, prefixed to his works, we stand indebted for the principal incidents in these memoirs.

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